1971 July-December LABOR CHALLENGE, correspondence & documents)
League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière/YS-LJS
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July 1971

Support Bangla Desh

Statement of the Fourth International,
World Party of the Socialist Revolution, founded by Leon Trotsky.

As the Pakistani armies continue their efforts to crush the independence movement of the people of East Bengal, it becomes clear that the Yahya military clique failed to secure the quick victory it sought. Despite the brutalities and mass killings, it has been unable to terrorize the Bengali people into submission.

Incensed by wholesale slaughter of unarmed people, the Bengali masses are certain to continue their resistance against the colonial regime ruling their country. But the whole question of revolutionary leadership and revolutionary strategy is posed with the utmost sharpness. The Bengali people are united as never in the past. However, their current leadership is completely inadequate. Far from preparing the workers and peasants for a decisive, prolonged struggle for independence, Sheik Mujibur did all in his power to arrive at a compromise with Yahya Khan. The Awami League opposed independence and set its sights instead on autonomy. Mujibur engaged in discussions with Yahya Khan while the dictator placed his military forces in position. The Mujibur leadership now flounders and hopes for help from the United Nations and the international bourgeoisie, starting with the Indian capitalists. Its real line was clearly expressed by Sheik Mujibur's declaration to Agence France-Presse:

"Is the West Pakistan government not aware that I am the only one able to save East Pakistan from Communism? If they take the decision to fight, I shall be pushed out of power and the Naxalites will intervene in my name. If I make too many concessions, I shall lose my authority. I am in a very difficult situation." (*Le Monde,* March 31, 1971.)

The Fourth International, while declaring its complete solidarity with the struggle of the Bengali masses against national oppression, reaffirms its view that the development of a revolutionary leadership is essential to win the struggle. This victory will only be achieved by the Bengali workers, peasants, and students, organized and led by a revolutionary proletarian leadership.

The revolutionary party will have the task of continuing the revolutionary struggle by all means necessary and thus begin the task of smashing the old structures of the Bengali countryside and cities and laying the basis to establish a workers' and peasants' government which will start building a socialist society. This task can only be impeded by any intervention of the Indian bourgeoisie, which is only interested in preserving the status quo and preventing the struggle in Bangla Desh from overflowing into West Bengal.

The Fourth International is opposed to intervention by the Indian bourgeoisie, which would be designed to hinder the development of the Bengali struggle rather than to help it. Once more the counter-revolutionary nature of Indira Gandhi's policies and of the bourgeois state of India has been confirmed by her government's aid, side by side with the Yahya Khan clique, to the Ceylon army's repression of the revolutionary forces in that country.

The Fourth International condemns the treachery of the Maoist government in publicly supporting the Yahya dictatorship, and thus helping it to maintain its ruthless exploitation and repression of the Bengali people. Under excuse of combating Indira Gandhi's interference, this Mao regime stands as a direct accomplice in the massacres.

Chou En-lai's message to Yahya Khan on April 12 is a brazen attempt to cover up Peking's approval of the massacre of the Bengalis: "We believe that through consultations and the efforts of your excellency and leaders of various quarters in Pakistan, Pakistan will certainly be restored to normal. In our opinion, unification of Pakistan and unity of the peoples of East and West Pakistan are basic guarantees for Pakistan to attain prosperity and strength." Mao's subsequent message to Khan repeats the same idea even in stronger words.

The "unity" of Pakistan is the "unity" of a monstrosity sponsored by British and world imperialism against the unity of the workers and peasants of the Indian subcontinent. It is a "unity" that enables a tiny group of semifeudal landlords, compradore capitalists, and generals to rule over millions of superexploited and starving peasants, agricultural and industrial workers. It is a "unity" that showed callousness to the most elementary needs of the Bengali people by failing to take precautionary measures in advance of the last year's tornado and by doing nothing for the victims afterwards.

It is a fundamental revision of the elementary principles of Marxism-Leninism to speak about the Pakistan "state" and the Pakistan army without clearly specifying its class character: a state defending the interests of a coalition of semifeudal landlords, rapacious compradore and monopoly capitalists (twenty-two families of robber barons control two-thirds of the industrial assets of the country). The army is a reactionary bourgeois army, formed and trained by imperialism, and ready to join with similar armies in Iran and Afghanistan in forming an anticommunist *cordon sanitaire* in Central Asia, in the direct service of world imperialism. These are the forces approved by Mao to preserve "unity"!

The support given to Yahya by the Chinese bureaucracy represents an open betrayal of the class interests of the Bengali workers and poor peasants who have died in the struggle for national self-determination and those who are struggling today against the Pakistan army and who will continue the struggle for a socialist Bengal. It is obvious that the Maoist leaders, far from learning the lessons of the Indonesian defeat or the lessons of their unprincipled support for Yahya's predecessor Ayub Khan, continue on the same opportunist road. Their course weakens the socialist forces in Bangla Desh and strengthens right-wing forces that utilize Peking's support for Yahya to discredit "Communism." Mao's support of Yahya Khan harms and weakens the defense of the Chinese revolution. The only substantial bulwark against the threat of imperialist aggression from the Indian peninsula against the People's Republic of China is a strong and powerful revolutionary mass movement in that peninsula, moving toward the overthrow of the reactionary states of India and Pakistan, towards a victorious workers' and peasants' revolution in the whole subcontinent. If the mass uprising in East Bengal is smashed, this will strengthen reaction in the whole peninsula. And the very same reactionary army that Chou and Mao flatter today would be ready tomorrow to support aggression against the Chinese revolution.

Those communists on a world scale who have chosen to support the Chinese leadership in the Sino-Soviet dispute on the grounds that it acts in a more revolutionary and militant way against imperialism must say today where they stand on this issue. Silence would amount to complicity.

The various Western imperialist powers have, while deploring the mass slaughter, supported, in various ways, the status quo. The United States, in particular, has manipulated the distribution of its stocks of food to favor Yahya, knowing full well that starvation is a key weapon in his armory. Moreover, most of the arms used by Yahya were supplied by the Pentagon and will be replaced from the same source as they are used up in putting down the population.

The Fourth International appeals to the international workers' movement to render all possible assistance to the freedom fighters of Bangla Desh, to carry out solidarity actions with the Bengali masses, and to demonstrate unconditional support to the Bengal struggle for national self-determination.

The Fourth International calls upon all socialists to oppose any interference by capitalist and imperialist forces, designed to maintain neocolonialism's grip on the whole Indian subcontinent. In particular, military aid, and especially assistance to Yahya Khan's forces in transit, must be opposed by all means necessary. Revolutionaries should put the maximum pressure on the Maoist leadership to end its shameful support to Yahya Khan's dictatorship. It is also a vital task to expose the Soviet military aid which helped build up the West Pakistani counterrevolutionary army. The left should be on its guard against the possibility of a massive intervention sponsored by U.S. imperialism

(Continued over)

Hands off Bangla Desh

(continued from other side)

to block any spread of the revolutionary struggle in Asia.

The Fourth International calls upon the workers, peasants, students, and revolutionary intellectuals of West Pakistan, to break with all chauvinistic anti-Bengali sentiments, to understand that the murderous generals, now trying to smother the uprising of the Bengali people in a bloodbath, are their own oppressors. To struggle against the colonial war unleashed by Yahya Khan in East Bengal is not only their internationalist duty, it is also in their own class interest. To defeat the West Pakistani army in Bengal will speed the liberation of the West Pakistani masses from the yoke of their exploiters.

The Fourth International is confident that, despite temporary setbacks, the Bengali masses will finally triumph over the armed might of West Pakistani capital and thus pave the way for a Socialist United Bengal, which in turn will give powerful impetus to the liberation of the entire subcontinent from the yoke of the capitalists and landlords.

Victory to Bangla Desh!

For a socialist Bangla Desh!

For a United Socialist Bengal!

Forward, towards the socialist revolution in the whole Indian subcontinent!

U.S., Canada – accomplices in genocide

(reprinted from Labor Challenge, July 5, 1971)

by David Goldstein

The human toll of the Pakistani invasion of Bangla Desh, formerly called East Pakistan, has now soared over the half-million mark and daily grows as the orgy of arson, rape and death mounts.

The initial news blackout imposed by West Pakistani military dictator Yahya Khan has disintegrated; front-page pictures and accounts of dismembered bodies, tortured children and mutilated women reveal the truth: millions of Bengalis are the victims of a gigantic bloodbath of historic dimensions.

The entire country, and the refugees who sought safety from the Pakistani butchers in India, are slowly being consumed by mass epidemics of cholera and starvation. The worst appears far from over as agricultural experts explain that starvation will threaten all 70 million Bengalis within two months.

The war in Pakistan earlier this year which sparked these new dimensions of horror was genocidal from inception.

The U.S.-backed Khan sought to keep the tens of millions of Bengalis, part of the artificially-created country of Pakistan, at any cost. The "cost" was genocide, for the Bengalis, who have little in common with the relatively-privileged West Pakistanis, sought independence in order to break out of their economic servitude to the Pakistani landlords.

Khan is undoubtedly satisfied that his solution is working. But the U.S., Canada and the other "freedom-loving" and "civilized" countries are by no means free from complicity in the massacre.

True, Canadian customs officers intervened at the last minute, to block shipment of Canadian aircraft and truck parts to the Pakistan armed forces being loaded on the Pakistani freighter Padma in Montreal June 29. But only after the Bangla Desh Association in Canada had publicly drawn attention to the presence of the ship in Montreal. And why was the Padma here? A Pakistani military mission visited Canada in April, short weeks after the brutal invasion of Bangla Desh began. That same month, Ottawa signed a $1,000,000 loan agreement with the Pakistan dictatorship.

In blatant disregard of its formal ban against sending military supplies to West Pakistan, the U.S. continued in April, May and June to load military equipment onto Pakistani ships anchored in the U.S. and heading to Karachi.

What is the response of Canada and the U.S. to the cholera epidemic and mass starvation the Bengalis face? Where are the many millions of bushels of wheat that Canada could provide to halt the coming famine? Where are the tons of medical supplies the U.S. can send to wipe out the epidemic and immunize the population against related disease?

And what is China, who helped build Khan's army in the first place, doing for the Bengalis? Or India, supposedly imbued with Gandhian humanitarianism, now bitterly complaining about the 40 cents a day spent on half the Bengalis within its borders?

Where the U.S. chooses to intervene massively, as in Vietnam, the entire country is mobilized in a gigantic war effort in which billions are spent overnight. Canada's vital resources suddenly become available for the war machine and Washington expends American lives endlessly.

Balance Trudeau's "generous" gift of one and a quarter million dollars for disaster relief against the multi-million profits rung up annually by Canada's auxiliary war industry, with generous funds and tax concessions granted by their friends in Ottawa.

If anyone still wonders whether the U.S. government and its allies, including "humanitarian" Canada, retain moral scruples in their losing fight to keep the world safe from capitalism, the tragedy of East Bengal should extinguish their doubts.

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'Labor-1' *(RD report on big British Labour Party victory)*

(article by R.D. undated, found in Feb-July '71 European correspondence –ed.)

By Ross Dowson

London – Local government elections in England and Wales saw Labour sweep back into positions of power. London's *Evening Standard* of May 14 characterized them as a ''landslide'' which made ''this the bleakest day for Mr. Edward Heath since the Tories swept into power nearly a year ago.''

Far from continuing to bleed which some observers only a year ago thought was the fate confronting the British Labour party, it has recovered the positions that it held back in 1964, and, according to London Labour Party chairman Mellish, it is back to where it was in 1945. ''The elections results,'' he said, ''are the most impressive we have ever had in London.''

That a profound swing to Labour in both England Wales was well underway was apparent a week earlier when local elections took place in Scotland.

Labour made 117 gains – to become the largest single party in Edinburgh council for the first time – winning control in Glasgow by taking wards it had never won before, taking a majority in Dundee, and increasing its majority in Aberdeen. The Tories suffered wide losses, but the Scottish Nationalists were swept into oblivion. The SNP was cut back to one seat in Glasgow and saw its five seats in Edinburgh wiped out.

By the end of the week Labour gained 2,800 seats which gave it control in England and Wales of 17 London boroughs, 14 county boroughs, 10 non-county boroughs and 30 urban districts.

Only one third of council seats were up for election. But in Manchester, the Tory's re-warding to take account of population movements from the centre to the periphery that was supposed to secure their power for another 15 years, backfired. The new wards gave Labour a majority of 81 councillors to 18 – with aldermanic elections still to come.

While Labour's position in the Greater London Council did not reflect its real strength due to developing apathy amongst its supporters in recent years, it made a spectacular comeback, winning 21 out of 32 districts. Even the area that elects Prime Minister Heath to the Commons fell to Labour.

The Communist Party lost the two seats in London's Tower Hamlets which it has held since 1945 and 1956 but for an interruption in 1959 and 1968 – along with its three seats in Wales and the one in Birkenhead. The CP ran 452 candidates in England and Wales, including a full slate in Manchester, for a total of 63,500 votes, somewhat less than it polled in 1968.

Some of Labour's successes were due to its doubling its poll. In Brent, Labour's vote went up by 98 percent overall. In Ealing it doubled. Both boroughs had a 4 per cent increased in their electorate because of new young voters. In Ealing the poll was about 15 per cent over 1968's voting.

The Labour party's right wing reformist leadership knew better than to claim the victory as having much, if anything, to do with their policies. While they had anticipated a certain recovery of strength the scope even started them. Deputy leader Roy Jenkins characterized it as ''a massive vote of no confidence on the government's performance over the past 11 months.''

The thousands of workers who had become apathetic over the Labour Party leadership's rotten performance when in office over the previous years, thanks to the Heath government, soon once again learned the progressive character of even Harold Wilson and his parliamentary cohorts' watch-dog role over the concessions that had been wrung over the years out of the British capitalist class. Labour's defeat in the national elections 11 months ago soon proved to be much more than a marginal one for the British working class. As Labour Party General Secretary Sir Harry Nicholas noted: ''The people have retaliated at the ballot box against the Tory attack on the standard of living, against the loss of free school milk, rising rents, rising health charges, rising food prices and rising unemployment.''

And it goes further than that. The past six months have seen a further deepening in the radicalization of the British working people, not only in the youth and among women, but in the shops (factories). The Tory government's threat to hamstring the mighty forces of the British trade union movement through the Industrial Relations Bill whipped up a series of massive struggles the like of which has not been seen since the General Strike of 1926. This radicalization has not only been reflected in the Labour Party but has inevitably siphoned right into it and poses once again the challenge of Labour to power. The local government elections reveal that this process is once again well underway, a process which is almost as frightening for the Wilson Labour Party leadership which hundreds of thousands of workers have developed a critical understanding of, as it is for the British capitalist class. ''The Prime Minister knows that he would face decisive defeat in another General Election now,'' notes the *Evening Standard.*

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NDP victory in Saskatchewan solid mandate for radical change

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A socialist Saskatchewan – challenge to NDP gov't

ALLAN BLAKENEY: NDP leader is new premier.

by The Editors

"We've changed the government, now let's change Saskatchewan," Premier-elect Allan Blakeney told cheering NDP supporters on election night.

Indeed, the overwhelming popular vote for the New Democrats constitutes a solid mandate for far-reaching change. Every major issue in the NDP campaign pointed to the need for radical solutions: the farm crisis, which can only be resolved by the expropriation of the giant "agribusiness" corporations and their operation in the interests of the working farmers; the resources sellout, posing the need for public ownership and planned development of resource industries free of pollution; the education crisis, which has seen teachers and students alike mobilizing in support of student-faculty control of schools and colleges, and course content.

In Manitoba, lack of a clear parliamentary majority until recently has been used by the NDP's Premier Schreyer to justify his failure to legislate any but the most modest reforms, all of them consistent with a modernized capitalism. No such excuse can be invoked by the new Blakeney government. The relatively strong Saskatchewan left, organized in the Waffle, is well placed to mount a vigorous campaign for the immediate implementation of radical anticapitalist measures.

With the Saskatchewan triumph, and the formation of its second provincial government, the New Democratic Party passes the previous highwater mark of electoral support registered by the NDP and its predecessor, the CCF. Building on the massive and growing discontent across the country against the traditional capitalist parties, the NDP has every chance of breaking through to become solidly established in the consciousness of the working people as their political party.

The implications are enormous. It's "socialism or free enterprise," said Liberal premier Thatcher — and the workers and farmers, women and students of Saskatchewan made it resoundingly clear which they favored.

When the election was called a month ago, Labor Challenge responded with a special campaign issue sketching out the challenge of an NDP government: "Saskatchewan," we declared, "can become a beachhead for the NDP, an example to the rest of Canada, of North America. Student-faculty control? Workers control? Women's liberation? Red Power? An NDP government can mean all these things — putting the powerful resources of government at the disposal of all the ongoing movements for social change."

That's the challenge.

But it will take the conscious intervention of the Waffle, the socialist wing of the party, to make all that come true.

EDITORIAL

Quebec's 'non' is positive

Over 100,000 Montrealers took to the streets June 24, joyously marking the St. Jean Baptiste, Quebec's national holiday. This year they had something special to celebrate. Twenty-four hours earlier, Quebec premier Bourassa had announced his government's rejection of the Victoria Charter, writing "finis" to the proposed new constitution of Canada.

Bourassa's decision was a victory for the massive coalition of popular forces, led by organized labor, that had come together during the previous three days to spearhead opposition to the Charter. The "common front" included the Confederation of National Trade Unions and the Quebec Teachers Corporation, the Quebec NDP and nationalist organizations like the conservative middle-class St. Jean Baptiste Society and the Societe Nationale Populaire. Similar opposition to the draft constitution was expressed by the Quebec Federation of Labor (CLC).

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Organized independently of the Parti Quebecois, it was the broadest range of organized nationalist opinion ever seen in Quebec — conclusive proof to Bourassa (and Trudeau) that the nationalist and labor movements have recovered from the beating they took last fall with the War Measures.

Confronted by possible mass demonstrations, bigger than anything since Bill 63, the Liberal government had no choice but to reject the Victoria Charter.

The Charter itself, hammered out behind closed doors by Trudeau and the provincial premiers, and said to cap three years of constitutional wrangling, was presented to Canadians as the definitive response of the Trudeau government to the constitutional crisis. It wasn't much.

There were the usual fine words — every constitution has something like them — about the "fundamental freedoms. . .of thought, conscience and religion, freedom of opinion and expression, and freedom of peaceful assembly and of association," that no law could "abrogate or abridge." All the First Ministers agreed on that — because there were also those clauses providing for "limitations" of those freedoms "in the interests of public safety, order, health or morals, or national security. . ." And there was even provision that "in time of real or apprehended war, invasion or insurrection" (a fortunate choice of words!), parliament and the legislatures might dispense with elections.

But constitutions only reflect reality; they cannot fundamentally alter it, still less provide the blueprint of a new society.

And the reality in Canada is that behind the smokescreen of the constitution debate, there is the national oppression of the Quebecois. On every major question, the Victoria Charter violated and denied Quebec's right to determine its own affairs.

Even the one power that Bourassa had been insistent Quebec should have, control of social policy, was denied; the charter if anything increased federal jurisdiction in this field.

Where now? The Victoria Charter does not close the door to further negotiations between Ottawa and Quebec, between Ottawa and all the provinces. But it does reveal the total lack of success of Quebec's traditional political leaders in winning any significant concessions within the federal regime.

How could it be otherwise? The War Measures crisis, to cite only a recent example, showed how totally Bourassa and his class depend on Ottawa and the federal system to maintain their own rule.

This is the lesson of the Victoria charter's demise. More and more Quebecois now recognize that the leadership of the struggle to defend their national rights falls to the workers and their organizations. Good cause for Mr. Bourassa, Mr. Trudeau and their supporters to regret the popular verdict.

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SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE

Toronto tops its goal

by Penny Simpson
Cross-country sub drive co-ordinator

In the last two weeks, the Labor Challenge subscription drive has taken a sudden spurt forward. Toronto has gone over its goal of 300 selling 44 subs in the last evening of the drive! Going door-to-door, the salespeople report that it was the Saskatchewan NDP victory (plus election interest in Ontario) and women's liberation that sold the subscriptions.

Vancouver, at last report, had added 75 subscriptions in two weeks. It needs only 22 more to reach its goal. Hamilton, also hard at work, reports 21 out of a goal of 50, all since our last report in Labor Challenge.

The subscription drive now stands at 58.9 percent of its goal — still far below what it should be. Nevertheless, if this final push is maintained, the results should be quite respectable. The deadline for all reports is July 10, just in time for our next issue, and for the final scoreboard.

But before you send in that report, are you absolutely sure everyone you know has a subscription to Labor Challenge?

Results so far

	Goal	So Far
Atlantic Provinces	75	10
Quebec	25	1
Ontario	250	38
Toronto	300	301
Western Provinces	150	31
Vancouver	200	188
General	0	20
	1000	589

They know what side they're on;

Sexual Politics – 'a liberating experience'

KATE MILLETT, author of Sexual Politics, addresses demonstration for homosexual rights in Albany, N.Y. last year.

photo by White

REPEAL ABORTION LAWS NOW! Demonstrators from Toronto Women's Caucus and Women's Liberation Movement confronted Trudeau June 23 at cornerstone laying of Women's College Hospital. Women later laid their own symbolic "cornerstone" in memory of the thousands of women who have died as a result of illegal abortions.

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The family

Sexual Politics – ‘a liberating experience’

(From Labor Challenge July 1971)

By Cynthia Flood

The following is based on a talk given by the author at the Vanguard Forum in Vancouver last winter.

For any woman who has ever thought "I am a freak, a bad maladjusted sick sinful abnormal," reading *Sexual Politics* is like having the prison doors flung open and seeing blazing sunlight and blue sky outside.

Kate Millett's sweeping study of the sexism that exists everywhere in our culture draws the central conclusion, a conclusion documented with unanswerable force, that the oppression of women is not innate but the result of the way in which the society we live in is organized.

Millett is a brilliant scholar, and she has subjected a huge range of human endeavor to her searching and frequently scathing analysis. *Sexual Politics* includes a special section on patriarchy, a concise history of the feminist movement in the western world over the past 150 years, studies of the role of women in Nazi Germany and the USSR, a long discussion of the nature of female sexuality, a brilliant dissection of the work and influence of Sigmund Freud, considerable commentary on myths and legends, and lengthy critical analyses of about ten major 19th and 20th century writers of fiction, poetry and political economy.

Family basis of oppression

Central to her analysis of all these disparate fields is her conclusion that "half of the populace which is female is controlled by that half which is male," and that the oppression of women is enforced through the organization of society on the basis of the male-dominated patriarchal family. "Patriarchy's chief institution is the family. It is both a mirror of and a connection with the larger society; a patriarchal unit within a patriarchal whole. Mediating between the individual and the social structure, the family effects control and conformity where political and other authorities are insufficient."

The central weakness of the book is that without a class analysis of society. Millett cannot fully explain how patriarchal society developed, why women are oppressed; she is equally powerless to suggest a way of really altering it from the roots up. Instead, she retreats from revolution to the tremendously interesting but politically less demanding grounds of psychology and literature.

Millett herself says that her "attempts to formulate a systematic overview of patriarchy as a political institution ... (was) far and away the most difficult to write ... and describes them as "notes toward a theory of patriarchy ... something of a pioneering effort, it must perforce (become) both tentative and imperfect."

Even with its frustrating inadequacies, *Sexual Politics* has so much in it that is really excellent;

it is so clearly the product of a brilliant and passionate mind, and must be seen as a major contribution to the developing body of theoretical literature on women's liberation.

Role of literature

Millett's overwhelming documentation of literature and human sciences shows how all the cultural tools developed through the collective effort of all humanity have been turned as weapons against women to keep us jailed. Through centuries of oppression woven through the entire fabric of patriarchal family and social life, women have come in large measure to accept that society's definition of ourselves as worthy of oppression. "Having internalized the disesteem in which they are held, women despise both themselves and each other," Millett says.

In talking with other women about *Sexual Politics*, I have found that nearly everyone has her favorite section of the book, some part that speaks most immediately to her own particular experience.

Exposes Freud

Mine is definitely the section on Freud; reading it was truly a jail break. All those weary and humiliating arguments with men about my aggressiveness, my lack of femininity, my desire to be male; all the fury at reading mass-circulation articles and books which continually stress the "naturalness" of female passivity and subjugation; all the frustration of having a good brain and knowing it was not and could not be used to its full capacity — all this in 20th century North America is connected with the ideas of Sigmund Freud, their influence, use and abuse.

What Millett does is take a good hard (and well-documented) look at Freud's views on women, and shows them to be totally unfounded, in fact, to have sprung directly from his own Victorian bias and milieu. Freud was incapable of distinguishing the status of females in his era from female biology. He therefore concluded that since women led passive, masochistic and crippled lives, it was an "objective," "scientific," truth that women are by nature passive, masochistic, and incapable of initiating or creating anything. And the crux of his whole analysis was that women who want to be happy have to accept their passive role.

His identification of the social with the biological was so complete that he concluded that women who felt they were missing something (and don't forget it was in an era of militant feminism) were missing something physical — a penis.

Freud held that women are eliminated from all human pursuits by their biology, that "biology is destiny." Obviously such views serve to justify the perpetuation of the oppression of our sex. Through Freud's disciples and popularizers these views have spread through every sector of our society to be used as weapons against any woman who is striving for something more than mere biological existence.

Millett provides some frightening examples of this from some of the most influential "pop" psychology writers of our times. It is such a relief to have, thanks to Kate Millett's brilliant debunking of Sigmund Freud, all the arguments you need to defend yourself from the con-

tinuous, psychological attack by anti-feminists.

Sexist writers

Another very valuable section of *Sexual Politics* is that on four major 20th century writers, Norman Mailer, D.H. Lawrence, Henry Miller, and Jean Genet. In her essays, Millett successfully shows not only how the whole patriarchal ideology is reflected in literature, but also that literature acts as a carrier of the disease. For so long, Miller, Mailer and Lawrence have been held up to us as literary sexual liberators, as men who have dealt openly and joyfully with "the overpowering mysteries and glories of love and copulation" (as one male critic says). Well, what are these mysteries and glories so frankly described?

Here's Miller's description of a woman in orgasm: "And on this bright slippery gadget Mara twisted like an eel ... wriggling and squirming like a piece of fresh bait." Throughout Miller's writings, women are referred to as pieces of tail, bitches, vultures, buzzards, described as squealing like a pig, gibbering, quivering and whinnying. Women to Miller are animals, and filthy ones at that: he constantly refers to women's genitals as a "dark, unstitched wound," "dead clam," or "slimy hole." The only way Miller can deal with women is to proclaim over and over his power to control and exploit women as consumer goods to be bought, used, and thrown out.

D.H. Lawrence, far from liberating women, says that they must be completely obliterated in order that men may be truly male. Viewing Lawrence's work as a whole, Millett holds that his male supremacist "sexual politics" led to his development as a reactionary on all political fronts. In her critique of the writings of Norman Mailer, Millett shows that there is the closest possible connection between "sexual politics" and the politics of war — sex. is linked with blood, brutality and violence; killing is sexual, and sexuality is murderous. Mailer fully outlines his notion of sexuality as butchery in *Barbary Shore*: "He named various parts of her body and described what he would do to them, how he would tear this and squeeze that, eat here and spit there, butcher rough and slice fine, slash, macerate, pillage. . . until his appetite satisfied. I could see him squatting beside the carcass, his mouth wiped carefully with the back of his hand. With that he sighed, as much as to say, 'a good piece of ass, by God'."

Millett holds that in one sense, the definition of these three writers as liberators is accurate. They are frank, open and unconstrained in their descriptions of sexual relationships. But the point is this: what exactly is it that they are describing so truthfully? What she says of Miller can apply also to the other two: "His value lies not in freeing us from our afflictions, but in having the honesty to express and dramatize them…"

In short, the only freedom which these three have achieved is that of describing without euphemism the brutality and alienation of the male-female relationship as experienced in patriarchal society. The writings of these so-called liberators, like all literature, are not merely a passive reflection of the capitalist society that has produced them. They are the active, cultural agent, the promoter and carrier of the values of a society that exploits and dehumanizes women.

Millett's discussion of the writings of Jean Genet illustrates the effects of the distortion and

alienation which characterize sexual relationships in this society. Genet writes about the homosexual sector of society in which he lived, a sector which because of its sexual orientation is persecuted and oppressed. Homosexual relationships in Genet's plays and books faithfully reflect the values, the domination and brutality of heterosexual relationships.

"When a biological male is described as a 'cunt,' one gets a better notion of the meaning of the word. By revealing its primarily status or power definition, Genet has demonstrated the utterly arbitrary and invidious nature of sex roles. Divorced from their usual justification in an assumed biological congruity, masculine and feminine stand out as terms of praise and blame, authority and servitude, high and low, master and slave," Millett concludes.

Lacks class analysis

The obvious question, after proceeding through this chamber of horrors, is why? For what purpose? Whose interests does the degradation of women serve? It is precisely this question that Millett does not really deal with.

Millett does not recognize that the oppression of women is rooted in the existence of class society. Nor does she see the integral and historical connection between the emergence of classes, the full-scale oppression of the female sex, and the development of a capitalist economy. She does not think that sexism simply benefits men — that men are the enemy. She takes pains on many occasions to point out the appalling effects of the "patriarchal socialization system" on men, and she is very willing to give credit to male writers, political scientists, theoreticians, etc. in whose ideas or actions she finds merit. She is not under the illusion that men in this society are free.

Yet throughout her book she remains unclear about the precise identity of the enemy, and is therefore unable to indicate a clear direction for the struggle which she believes most passionately must be fought and won for the sake of all humankind.

She discusses the debate among anthropologists on whether matriarchal societies existed before the development of male-dominated class society. She correctly shows that to hold the view that patriarchy has always existed is equivalent to saying that a particular social form is natural and eternal. It is also of course, by extension, equivalent to saying that the oppression of women is natural and inevitable. However, in spite of some recognition that the existence of pre-patriarchal societies indicates that social forms are the creations of — and capable of radical change by — human beings, she does not clearly commit herself to one side or the other of the matriarchy debate. In fact she dismisses it as a "curious controversy."

Incomplete

Sexual Politics is incomplete from a Marxist standpoint because it does not show the class origins of female oppression, and therefore cannot point the way to its elimination through socialist revolution which will abolish class divisions.

Although its view is incomplete*, Sexual Politics* represents implicitly a revolutionary challenge

to the whole organization of this society, which is based on the oppression of women. It is a challenge to the inhuman nature of the patriarchal family, which is the basic unit of this repressive society. And it is a feminist answer to male chauvinist theories and traditions which pervade and uphold class society.

The book ends with a powerful postscript: "When one surveys the spontaneous mass movement taking place all over the world, one is led to hope that human understanding itself has grown ripe for change.. .It may be that a second wave of the sexual revolution might at last accomplish its aim of freeing half the race from its immemorial subordination — and in the process bring us all a great deal closer to humanity. It may well be that we shall even be able to retire sex from the harsh realities of politics, but not until we have created a world (that can) bear (us) out of the desert we inhabit."

A convincing case for repeal of abortion laws

(Book Review from Labor Challenge, July 1971)

By Ellie Kirzner and Penny Simpson

***ABORTION IN CANADA*, by Eleanor Wright Pelrine. New Press, Toronto, $5.50**.

Abortion in Canada is the only book about abortion written for Canadians. The book carefully and intelligently explains the medical and social crisis created by the Canadian abortion laws, and the ongoing debate in this country about the right of women to abortion.

This book takes a stand for abortion on demand — that is its strongest point. Its author has brought together in two whole chapters on "The morality of abortion" and "Why abortion must come out of the Criminal Code" most facts and arguments that we need in the fight for abortion. She also throws the responsibility back where it belongs — on the moralizing male legislators and arrogant hospital administrators who now control our bodies and our lives.

Pelrine answers most questions a woman could have about abortion, and more than that, explodes every myth and misconception you could think of, with her concise, logical question-and-answer approach, without at all speaking down to the reader.

Under "Medical Facts," for example, she deals with "What is an abortion?... When is it performed… How? … How safe is abortion? … Where?" and very practically, "How much does it cost?"

The "How safe?" section is particularly useful because Pelrine has pulled together some comparative mortality statistics for countries where abortion has been available on demand for some time. In Czechoslovakia: 140,000 consecutive legal abortions without a death; Yugoslavia, 67,000; Hungary, 1,000,000 with only 25 deaths. To that she adds the mortality rates in those countries for abortion (2.5 per 100,000), abdominal surgery such as hysterectomy and appendectomy (100 per 100,000), or tonsillectomy (17 per 100,000). Therapeutic abortion, she states, is ten times safer than childbirth. These are useful facts to have at hand, facing as we are a newspaper scare campaign about women dying of legal abortions.

There are two or three weak points about the book. Pelrine's approach is largely a legalistic one: she favors a test case against the government and writing to MPs, although she does a good job of exposing those MPs in the abortion debate.

Secondly, she raises the question of "overpopulation," when the problem is not people-pollution but the monopoly by a handful of capitalists of the resources we need to care for all those people. Population manipulation, up or down, is incompatible with the concept of a woman's absolute right to control her own body, and is almost invariably aimed it

what the ruling class considers the *undesirables*: native peoples all over the world, Québécois, Blacks, Indians, Chinese, etc. Finally, the price of the book, $5.50 makes it unavailable to most women. It could have been published as a 75 cent pocketbook.

At the heart of Pelrine's study is the 1969 abortion amendment — she dubs it the reform that hardly was. The law's vagueness leads to vast differences in interpretation, and a vast gap between the number of abortions performed by various hospitals, and therefore in the availability of abortion from area to area. For example, Pelrine found that in the first eight months of 1970, Hamilton General Hospital performed 511 abortions (big deal!), compared to the fewer than 100 performed in the entire province of Saskatchewan. She doesn't mention it in her book, but in roughly the same period, 81 were performed in Quebec, only one of which was in a French Catholic hospital.

The abortion amendment has provided the loophole by which the Church, the most powerful opposition to abortion law repeal and also the administrator of some 275 publicly-financed hospitals, can put a stop to abortions: the law does not insist that hospitals establish the abortion-granting committees. The result is that these hospitals are released from all responsibility to the people who pay for them. It is not, however, only the Catholic hospitals who begrudge women abortion facilities: 56 of the 95 hospitals Pelrine polled had not set up abortion committees.

The argument used by Canadian hospitals, that the lack of facilities prevents them from accommodating women, is vividly countered by Pelrine's account of a modern abortion clinic run illegally by a Montreal doctor *(a discreet reference to Dr. Henry Morgentaler – Web Ed.)* and his three nurses. The doctor estimated that he had done over 2,500 abortions, all without mishap. Pelrine's description of the 20-minute operation performed in an atmosphere of quiet reassurance is enough to convince anyone of the widespread feasibility of abortion clinics.

The reform has meant very little for Canadian women. Pelrine estimates that there are 100,000 illegal abortions in Canada each year. ARCAL, the Association for the Repeal of Canadian Abortion Laws, provides the latest figures for legal ones: 11,200. As long as the law remains on the books, the state, as Pelrine points out, "is invading the areas of privacy by telling a woman whether or not she may bear a particular child; and by so doing, it endangers her life and the security of her person, because ... childbirth is now more dangerous than a hospital abortion."

Abortion, she says, is common in all societies, terminating 10 to 50 percent of all pregnancies. "The principal variation among societies lies in their honesty and humaneness — their honesty in acknowledging the practice, and their humaneness in the treatment of women." At a time when abortion has ceased to be a difficult surgical procedure, Canadian society has crassly refused to meet the needs of women.

Eleanor Pelrine's book is another important voice in the widening spectrum of people who are calling for a repeal of the abortion law. As she says herself, "it will probably take political action on a mass scale to achieve repeal of our abortion laws. A program of

informing the public is needed, backed up by public meetings and demonstrations ..."

That's our job.

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Why Trudeau lost in Quebec trials

by Art Young

"It's a victory for freedom of speech" exclaimed Robert Lemieux on hearing the jury acquit Charles Gagnon and Jacques Larue-Langlois of the charge of "seditious conspiracy" on June 15.

Lemieux, lawyer for Larue-Langlois and a prominent defendant himself in the Quebec political trials, was certainly correct. The acquittal verdict is a major victory for the Quebec nationalist movement and for civil rights in Canada. The failure of the government to convince the jury, despite the voluminous evidence it presented, undermines its whole justification of the October repression it launched.

The trial was the most important of the series of political trials since the War Measures Act. It developed out of the government's attempt, last fall, to convict five leading Quebec nationalists of conspiring to overthrow it. Michel Chartrand, Robert Lemieux, Pierre Vallieres, Charles Gagnon and Jacques Larue-Langlois soon became known as the "Montreal Five."

The seditious conspiracy charge against them was later thrown out of court as being "too vague" but Gagnon, Larue-Langlois and Vallieres were charged again with the same offense. Owing to ill health, Vallieres' trial was put off until the fall. He is now awaiting trial on the charge of having conspired with Gagnon and Larue-Langlois, whom the jury has decided did not conspire with anyone!

Quebec juries have consistently refused to believe the government's claim of an apprehended insurrection last October. All five of 14 persons charged with seditious offenses who have come to trial have been acquitted. Six of the seven persons tried for membership in or support of the FLQ have been acquitted.

Moves Against Left

Last October, the federal government seized upon kidnappings by two groups identifying themselves as the FLQ, to unleash a massive repression against the Quebec left, declaring that there was a conspiracy to foment an insurrection. Quebec was occupied by the federal army, civil rights suspended, and almost five hundred nationalists were rounded up and jailed. The Montreal working-class political formation, the Front d'Action Politique, then challenging Mayor Jean Drapeau's hold on city council, was crushed. The federalists launched a campaign to identify radical independentism with the FLQ, violence and murder.

Trudeau's aim was to deal the left-wing nationalists a heavy blow, through outright repression and imprisonment of their leaders and through this kind of propaganda campaign.

ACQUITTED OF SEDITIOUS CONSPIRACY, Charles Gagnon gives press conference on leaving prison. At left, co-defendant Jacques Larue-Langlois, also acquitted, and defense lawyer Robert Lemieux. Behind Gagnon, at right, is labor leader Michel Chartrand. Similar charges against Lemieux and Chartrand were thrown out by judge last February.

To justify such repression, he had to unearth an insurrectional conspiracy. But the more than 3,000 police raids in Quebec failed to turn up more than 33 firearms, mostly hunting weapons.

The "sedition" charges were then levelled against the nationalists. But these have now been rejected by a jury.

The failure of the government to justify its arbitrary actions in October, and its lengthy imprisonment of many accused, has discredited it among wide layers of the population.

Closes Chapter

With the acquittal of Gagnon and Larue-Langlois, a whole chapter of the post-October struggle comes to a close.

The government's attempt to turn the October FLQ adventure to its own advantage has largely failed. It has not succeeded in passing permanent repressive legislation to supplant the War Measures Act. The main Quebec nationalist leaders are now out of jail. Quebec Justice Minister Jerome Choquette's project of forcing all Quebecois to carry police identity cards has been abandoned. In short, the relationship of forces that existed before October is now largely restored — the nationalist, labor and student movements have succeeded in regaining their freedom of action.

This is not to say that there is no longer arbitrary police action and denials of civil liberties in Quebec, but Trudeau and Bourassa have been thwarted in their basic aim, which was to use the crisis to make permanent gains against the Quebec nationalists and civil liberties.

How was this important victory won?

Behind the Victory

Trudeau's imposition of the dictatorial War Measures Act met immediate opposition across the country. The New Democratic Party took a principled stand against the Act, immediately shattering any pretense of unanimity in favor of the repression. Meetings and protest demonstrations were organized across the country, in the early stages largely by left-wing groups including the Young Socialists

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and the League for Socialist Action. The repression did not go unnoticed outside Canada; the American radical movement staged a number of protests, and the Trotskyist Fourth International issued an appeal for solidarity with the victims of the repression.

Significant protests continued throughout English Canada during the October period. Many meetings were held; tours were organized for victims of the act, notably Penny Simpson of the YS/LJS, Robert Lemieux and Michel Chartrand. The tours received an excellent response; audiences became bigger and more sympathetic as time passed. The largest meetings were those addressed by Michel Chartrand in Winnipeg and Toronto in March. Both drew over a thousand people.

NDP Response

An important development was the important support for Quebec's right to self-determination shown at the April federal NDP convention. The resolutions of the left-wing "Waffle" group and the nationalist Quebec NDP demanding that the party recognize this right had dominated the pre-convention public debate. One-third of the delegates supported self-determination, against the opposition of the party brass.

In Quebec itself, the repression did not, as Trudeau hoped it would, suppress protest. The Quebec left, with most of its leaders behind bars, rapidly reorganized itself. Within hours of the proclamation of the War Measures Act on Oct. 16, a first defense committee was formed, the Comité Québécois pour la Défense des Libertés. An emergency meeting of leaders of Quebec's three union federations denounced the military occupation on Oct. 18, together with spokesmen of the Parti Québécois and other nationalist groups.

An unprecedented unity meeting of over 500 rank-and-file representatives of the union federations met in Quebec City on Oct. 22, and reaffirmed their opposition.

The CQDL, and another defense committee, the Mouvement pour la Défense des Prisonniers Politiques Québécois (MDPPQ) organized numerous actions, rallies, and demonstrations which gave voice to growing discontent with the repression. They began to involve other broader forces, such as those of the artistic community, and the PQ, the mass-based bourgeois-nationalist party. (The PQ at first tended to be very cautious in its opposition to the WMA, most often limiting its criticisms to the "excesses" of the government.)

The government, forced to yield ground, released most of those arrested, and replaced the War Measures Act with the Public Order Act. This latter, supposedly more moderate, maintained the essential powers of the previous act. But protests continued, growing in scope.

Trials Spark New Protests

The opening in November of the trials against the political prisoners gave a new impetus to the defense movement. From the prisoners' dock, the defendants vigorously counter-attacked, breaking through the attempts to silence them by contempt of court convictions and outright banishment from the courtroom. They succeeded in demonstrating the absence of evidence against them; this, in conjunction with the protests outside the courthouse and across the country, transformed public opinion.

Indicating the depth of the growing defense movement were the demonstrations against the political trials by two of the most conservative layers of students — those of the engineering and law faculties — that took place in January. In the same month, the top-name artists of Quebec organized a show entitled "Poèmes et Chants de la Résistance" hitting out at the trials and repression. It played to full houses.

In a by-election held in February in the very riding the assassinated Pierre Laporte had represented, the Parti Québécois increased its vote over what it had received in the same riding during the April 1970 provincial elections. Clearly public opinion had not turned against the independentists. While polls had reported that during October more than 70 percent of Québécois supported fully the government's actions, another poll showed that in March half this support had melted away: only 38 percent said they now entirely supported these actions. More people declared in March that they feared the army and the police, than said they feared the FLQ. According to this poll, published in the Montreal daily Le Devoir on May 29, almost 60 percent said they never had believed that in October the government was menaced by an insurrection.

The pressures on the government were greatly increased with the outbreak in February of the teachers' struggles against declassification. Quebec City had arbitrarily changed the job classifications of thousands of teachers, cutting many of their salaries; it hoped to save money and to profit from the after-effects of the War Measures. But the teachers hit back in a powerful series of rotating strikes that brought the educational system to the verge of chaos; they enjoyed massive public support of their cause. Other sectors of Quebec labor were also beginning to move.

Government Retreat

Trudeau and Bourassa had to retreat. They dropped the "seditious conspiracy" charge against two of the most prominent defendants, Chartrand and Lemieux. They let the Public Order Act lapse without replacement at the end of April. But the protests continued. The accused fought back. And the partial victories only increased the possibilities of winning a fuller victory. Government prosecutors were no more successful in their attempts to convince the juries.

The acquittals of Gagnon and Larue-Langlois mark a major turning point in the defense struggle. Already the Crown has announced that it will not appeal the acquittals. It has finally released Vallières on bail, and it is almost certain that the conspiracy charge against him will be dropped.

Far from being crushed, the main forces of the mass movement have recovered and are pressing forward. The October crisis, it would seem, has increased the class polarization in Quebec society, increasing at the same time independentist sentiment among Quebec workers.

While its entire justification for the War Measures has now crumbled, the government has not abandoned its use of the courts against the nationalists. The "Montreal Five" and others are still charged with membership in the FLQ, even though the Public Order Act banning such membership has now lapsed and no longer applies. Chartrand, Vallières and Gagnon, among many others, must still serve sentences for contempt of court which they received in fighting the government's frame-up.

Montreal police are continuing to harass and arrest radicals.

An acceleration of the defense movement in Quebec and in English Canada can put an end to this repression. It can halt the remaining political trials, scheduled for this fall. It can turn Trudeau's retreat into total rout.

MASS ACTION was key to victory in Quebec trials and recovery of left and nationalist movement. Above, a demonstration in Toronto headed by defense committee activists and (second and third from right) Pierre Bourgault, spokesman for Parti Quebecois left wing, and Michel Bourdon, vice-president of Montreal CNTU.

labor Challenge

July 1 in Montreal

Thousands march for independence

by Jeff White

As an English Canadian who had never been to a Quebec independentist demonstration, I was astounded. Here it was July 1 in Montreal, and I was participating in one of the beggest, most militant, and certainly the most colorful demonstrations I have ever been on. Two or three thousand chanting, singing Quebecois, marching twenty or thirty abreast down the middle of St. Denis St., sporting the red, white and green Patriote colors on their banners, their shirts, and their armbands, demonstrating their opposition to Confederation on Confederation day itself — and there I was, in the middle of it all.

It was good demonstration weather, despite threats of rain, and all along the route Montrealers were sitting on their balconies and fire escapes, or standing on the sidewalk shouting their support to the marchers for Quebec independence. Onlookers steadily swelled the ranks of the march, as the crowd proceeded to Lafontaine Park.

I could hear the voice of Manon Leger, socialist candidate for mayor of Montreal last October, leading the demonstrators in spirited chants aimed at the Trudeau and Bourassa governments, from the now-famous red, white and green sound truck of the Chevaliers de l'Independance at the front of the rally. Periodically, the demonstrators would break into song. In fact, the mood seemed to be one of great elation.

And there was good reason to be elated. In the first place, only one week earlier, the nationalist movement had scored an important victory in forcing Bourassa to reject Trudeau's "Victoria charter". The demonstration was also occurring shortly after a major victory had been won in the defense of political rights in Quebec — the acquittal of Charles Gagnon and Jacques Larue-Langolis on "seditious conspiracy charges."

Secondly, the march was a peaceful one — and the demonstrators were determined to keep it so. This was in sharp contrast to previous large demonstrations in Quebec, which have almost all wound up being attacked by the police. Only a week earlier, on St.Jean Baptiste day, the cops had attacked a crowd peacefully enjoying the national holiday.

FOR A FREE QUEBEC. Workers, students, women's liberationists, English and others join in march.

But the organizers of the July 1 action had set a different tone for this march, warning publicly that any violence on the demonstration would be caused by the police, not the demonstrators. The cops stayed carefully out of sight during the march, unable to find any pretence to break it up.

The third factor in establishing the mood of the parade, and the one that most impressed me, was the tremendous feeling of unity among the participants.

Chairman of the rally was Alain Beiner, Montreal organizer of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes who, standing atop the Patriote sound truck, told the crowd that for the first time, anti-Confederation demonstrations were being held in several cities in Canada, including Hull, Que. Diane Lamoureux of the Mouvement d'Action pour la Liberation des Quebecoises (Quebec Women's Liberation Action Movement) pointed to the relationship between the sexual oppression of women and the national oppression of the Quebecois, explaining that, as one of the banners put it, there can be "no free Quebec without liberated women.

The loudest cheers ere for the contingent carrying a banner that read "English Quebecois for a Free and Independent Quebec."

Manon Leger of the LSO struck a responsive chord with her call for socialism as the only way to win and keep an independent, free Quebec. A similar response was shown to the salespeople of the revolutionary socialist paper Liberation, who sold over 500 copies, and to the "Jeunes Socialistes" buttons, sold by the LJS one of the main organizing forces behind the demonstration.

Ottawa's crime against Vietnam

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FLQ set back Quebec struggle

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The next stage in women's liberation

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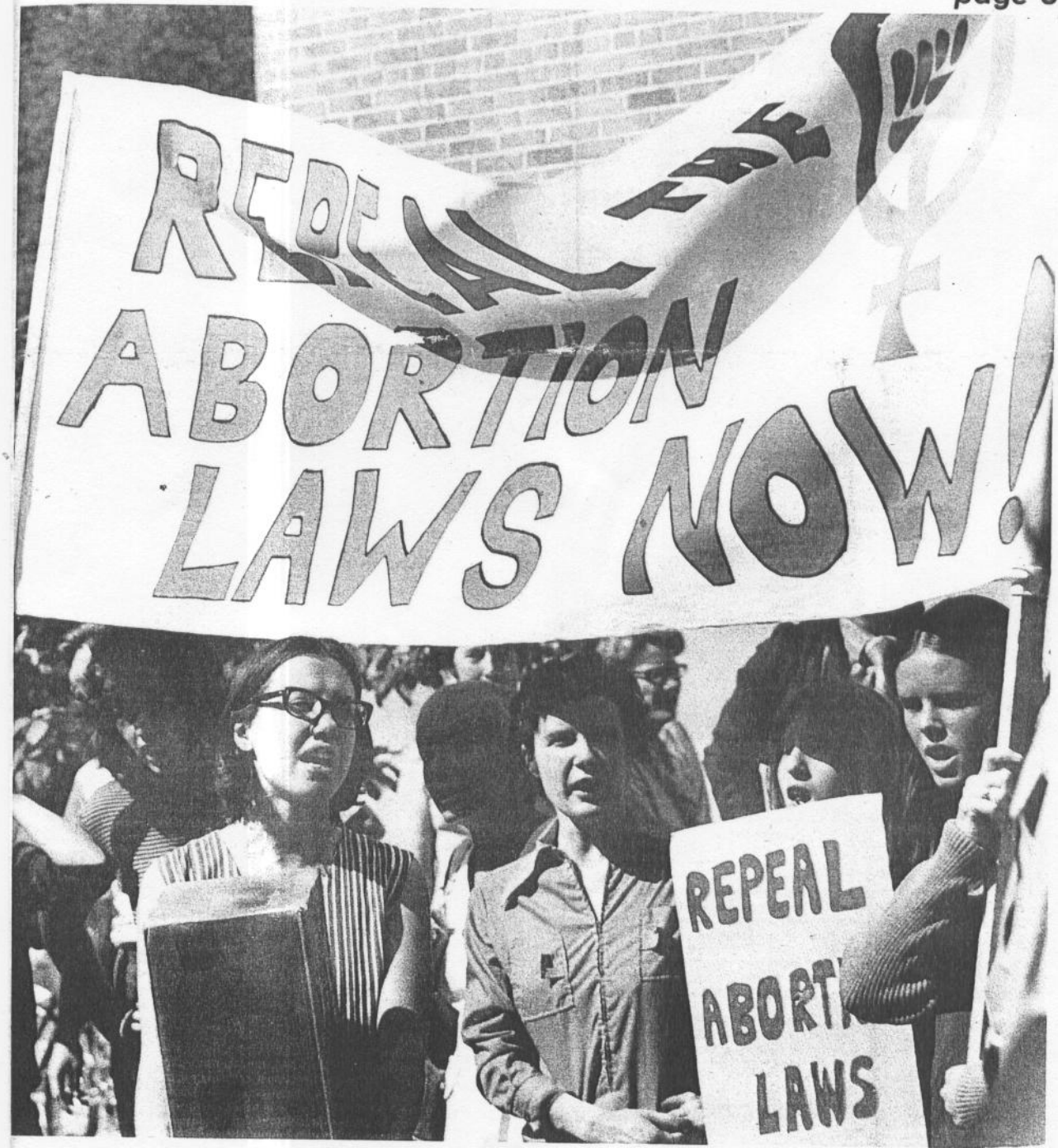

labor Challenge

Repeal anti abortion laws

by Jacquie Henderson

One hundred years ago Canadian women were struggling for the right to vote. Their struggle, which lasted for over fifty years, became the focus for the burning desire of Canadian women to assert their rights as human beings capable of thinking and deciding on political questions. Those women, many of whom were pioneers and in no sense "the weaker sex", had to fight a long hard battle to win this basic right.

Their struggle is hidden from us and their names struck out of the history texts, but the new feminist movement of the 1970's is rediscovering our foremothers, learning to be proud of them, and carrying their struggle forward.

Just as the right to vote was the focus for women a century ago in their struggle for equal rights, the right to abortion has emerged today as the focus of women's struggle for control of our lives. Over the past two years abortion has clearly become the central issue around which women have united in struggle.

There is a growing pressure to win this demand now, to force the government to grant abortion on demand. And the reactionary forces are mobilizing to attack the rights of women as they see the pressure growing. The Catholic Church, the Friends of the Fetus and the Trudeau administration are all united in their determination to prevent women from gaining the right to control our own bodies.

The struggle for the right to legal abortion, initiated by the women's liberation movement, has succeeded in radically changing public opinion in this country. One year ago the Gallup poll registered 21 percent of Canadians in favor of changing the abortion laws. Last February the sentiment for abortion on demand rose to 44 percent according to this poll. Since then many of the most conservative organizations in Canada, notably the Canadian Medical Association have come out for the legalization of abortion.

This change in heart did not come from within these gentlemen's souls — it was forced on them by the women's liberation movement through its demonstrations, rallies, meetings and other actions drawing the attention of Canadians to the fact that we women must have the right to control our bodies. It was not the CMA that published the facts about the hundreds of thousands of women who are forced to seek illegal abortions each year. It was the feminist movement. And it was these women who spoke up about the hundreds of their sisters who die every year from these backroom abortions. And it is the feminists who will lead the campaign to actually wipe abortion out of the Criminal Code.

But if the struggle is to actually succeed, it must be as big a struggle as the one that won the vote. It must unite all those women who want the laws repealed. It must include all sorts of activities that expose and put pressure on the government.

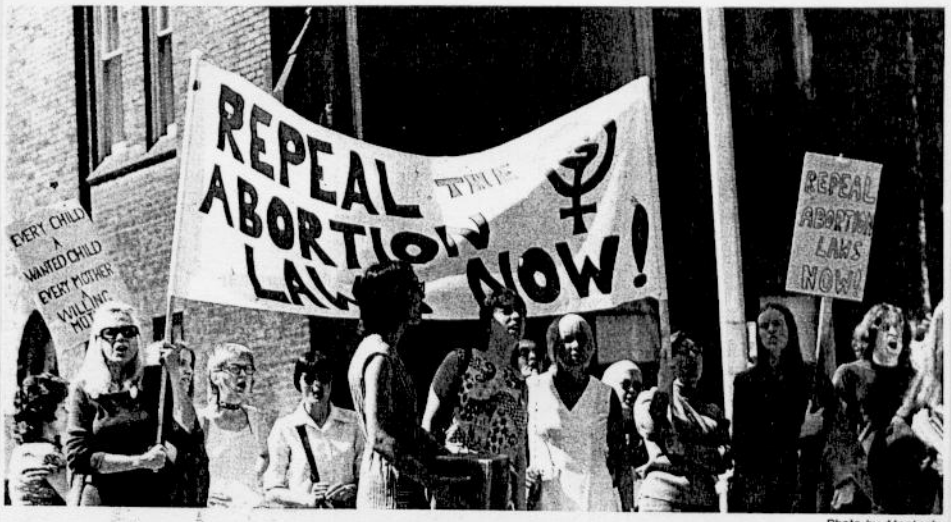

Photo by Macinnis

TORONTO WOMENS' CAUCUS and Womens' Liberation Movement demonstrate against Trudeau in June.

Organize to win

The major task before the women's liberation movement now is to spearhead the growing sentiment for repeal of the abortion laws and mobilize it into a a powerful movement that can actually win.

Throughout the last year there has been much debate among feminists on the role of the abortion struggle in building the women's liberation movement. Some feminists have felt that abortion is an artificial issue, or at least only one of many issues and should not be given priority.

While it is true that the right to control her own body is only one of many aspects of a woman's oppression, it is also true that it is one of the most central. It is the most pressing problem all women face.

Control of our bodies is so fundamental to our liberation that legalizing abortion would be a gigantic step forward for women. The constant worry about unwanted pregnancy, the complete lack of control of our bodies is one of the heaviest weights holding women down. Legalizing abortion will cut across all the myths and prejudices that prop up the main justifications for denying us equal education, equal pay and better jobs. That is why it is seen by women across the country as the biggest question right now.

Intensifying the struggle for the right to abortion through uniting in action on this issue does not mean giving up the fight on other issues. These struggles will be strengthened and advanced by an abortion victory which would demonstrate the power of women to fight resolutely and to win victories. Mass struggles will emerge in the future over the other demands of women's liberation too. But it is clear that the first concrete challenge to the women's liberation movement is the abortion issue.

That means building a movement for abortion that is much broader than the present women's liberation movement. Many women can agree on the need to repeal the abortion laws who can't agree on other demands. Each additional demand starts to exclude women who may only support the abortion demand, and therefore cuts across the abortion campaign. In fact by adding other demands the basis of the campaign is undercut — there no longer is an abortion *campaign*.

The abortion campaign clearly puts to governnent on the spot. They have two choices: to fail to repeal the laws and thus expose themselves as being callously indifferent to the needs of the women of Canada; or to repeal the laws and thereby grant a big concession that will not only significantly improve women's lives but also spur them on to struggle for more gains.

Repeal is key demand

The abortion demonstrations held thus far have almost all centered on the issue of free abortion on demand. These actions, such as the Feb. 13 demonstration in Ottawa and support actions across Canada, have been essential in changing public opinion, inspiring others to take up

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the abortion issue and focusing the blame on the federal government. They have created a situation where Trudeau can't go anywhere in the country without being confronted by angry women demanding he act on the abortion issue. They have pushed even conservative organizations to take a stand on abortion.

But they were limited by their insistence that all must unite around the slogan free abortion on demand. Many more women understand the demand for repeal of the abortion laws than understand why abortion should be free. One of the main lessons learned in the abortion struggle so far is that in order for the campaign to be effective, for it to draw in the masses of women who correctly see the law as the major hurdle to getting abortions, we must unite in struggle around the demand of repeal of the abortion laws.

Yet, although our immediate struggle is for repeal of the laws, our long term goal remains free abortion on demand. In order for all women to have ready access to abortions they must not only be legal but also free so that no woman is denied one because of lack of money. A campaign for repeal poses most clearly what we are telling the government to do right now — remove all sections of the criminal code that deal with abortion.

We want this section repealed because the fundamental problem now is not cost of abortions but the fact that it is a *crime* to seek an abortion or to perform one for non-medical reasons. The "criminals" pay dearly for their acts. Dr. Makaroff in Vancouver just finished serving three months in jail after being convicted of performing abortions. Dr. Morgentaler of Montreal still faces charges for the same "offense". Hundreds of women each year receive the death sentence dealt by butcher abortionists for their "crime."

Repeal of the abortion laws would certainly be no hollow victory as any woman can testify who has been forced to choose between the degradation, pain, mutilation and perhaps death from an illegal abortion or bearing an unwanted child. It can unite the largest number of women in struggle against the government. And repeal is a demand we can win.

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All those forces that are in favor of repeal must be brought together in united front committees in every city and town organized around this single focus. These committees can include women's liberation groups, church women, trade union representatives, YWCA's, doctors, NDP women and all sorts of individual women and groups who agree on the need for repeal.

These committees can gather support and raise money from organizations like the Canadian Psychiatric Association and the Canadian Medical Association challenging them to act on their resolutions. They can bring together various types of activities, meetings, test cases, petitions, provincial bills, municipal briefs, hospital actions, etc., and use them to build a single campaign that directs its main fire at the federal government and its laws.

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This campaign will include many more women than does the present feminist movement and through their struggle many more women will become feminists. Rather than holding the movement back it will swell the ranks of the women's liberation movement and provide a larger audience for other demands such as free abortion on demand, free child care, and equal pay. And it will win the first big victory for women since our feminist foremothers forced the government to grant them the vote.

Gays to march on Ottawa

by L. Paquette

In recent months, increasing numbers of men and women have begun to organize to fight against the victimization and oppression they suffer as homosexuals in this society. The Gay Liberation movement is growing.

In Vancouver, a gay civil rights organization was launched on June 27. Some twenty-five people participated in the first public meeting of the Gay Alliance Toward Equality (GATE), which is the third gay group to be established in Vancouver.

In Montreal, a gay contingent marched in the July 1 demonstration for Quebec independence. This was the first time in Canada that any gay group has participated in a public demonstration under its own banner. A representative of the Homosexuels pour un Quebec Libre spoke from the platform during the rally held at the end of the march, pointing out that the same society that oppresses the Quebecois, oppresses gay people.

Toronto Gay Action, a new group, is planning a demonstration at the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa on Aug. 28, commemorating the second anniversary of the passing of the Omnibus Bill removing penalties from the criminal code for homosexual acts between consenting adults. The demonstration will point out that the Bill did not legalize homosexuality. It will protest the many other discriminatory practices carried out by the federal government against homosexuals. TGA has invited all gay groups and individuals across the country to join the march.

At the Vancouver GATE public meeting, both Chairman Wayne Thompson and Chairwoman Marion Cantie laid heavy emphasis on the theme of Gay pride. Secretary of the committee is Walter Blumenthal. Thompson explained the GATE statement of principles, which declares, among other things, that: "We will work towards the goal of full equality for Gay people in every area of life and endeavor. We will seek the guarantee, by law, that no individual shall be dismissed or excluded from employment on the grounds that he or she is homosexual. Similarly, we want legal protection from discrimination ..." Cantie urged all present to join GATE, while at the same time calling for united actions with other gay groups in Vancouver.

Almost all of those attending the meeting joined.

Repeal anti-abortion laws

(From Labor Challenge July 1971)

by Jacquie Henderson

One hundred years ago Canadian women were struggling for the right to vote. Their struggle, which lasted for over fifty years, became the focus for the burning desire of Canadian women to assert their rights as human beings capable of thinking and deciding on political questions. Those women, many of whom were pioneers and in no sense "the weaker sex," had to fight a long hard battle to win this basic right.

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The major task before the women's liberation movement now is to spearhead the growing sentiment for repeal of the abortion laws and mobilize it into a a powerful movement that can actually win.

Throughout the last year there has been much debate among feminists on the role of the abortion struggle in building the women's liberation movement. Some feminists have felt that abortion is an artificial issue, or at least only one of many issues and should not be given priority.

While it is true that the right to control her own body is only one of many aspects of a woman's oppression, it is also true that it is one of the most central. It is the most pressing problem all women face. Control of our bodies is so fundamental to our liberation that legalizing abortion would be a gigantic step forward for women. The constant worry about unwanted pregnancy, the complete lack of control of our bodies is one of the heaviest weights holding women down. Legalizing abortion will cut across all the myths and prejudices that prop up the main justifications for denying us equal education, equal pay and better jobs. That is why it is seen by women across the country as the biggest question right now.

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labor Challenge #36 July 1971

Manitoba Waffle

Debates NDP civic platform

by Murray Smith

WINNIPEG — The federal convention of the NDP, held recently in Ottawa, has given a big impetus to the developing interest in and growth of the left-wing "Waffle" in Manitoba. Waffle meetings held since the convention have been marked by unusually large turnouts indicating a growing interest in the ideas of the NDP left-wing among unaffiliated radicals and NDPers alike in Manitoba.

The most important event was a Waffle conference on urban politics held in preparation for a coming NDP municipal convention slated for mid-August. Though conference attendance was small — about forty at its peak — resolutions on a wide range of subjects were formulated, and committees struck off to prepare other resolutions for future Waffle meetings.

The resolutions adopted on transportation, taxation and housing put forward a socialist perspective on fighting big business and real estate control of the city and point to what could be done by a labor-socialist municipal government to promote the interests of working people.

Special interest has been generated in urban politics because of the precedent-setting character of the fall municipal elections. The election will begin the process of implementing the provincial government's plan to amalgamate the 12 cities in the metro Winnipeg area.

But the plan also provides for the creation of "community committees", which, while placing all decision-making powers in the hands of elected councillors, open up new avenues for citizen involvement in urban politics. How the NDP, and particularly the Waffle, should take advantage of these opportunities generated a good deal of controversy among conference participants and revealed the very real differences of approach among them.

A compromise resolution on "Uni-city and Citizen Involvement" stated that ". . .a community committee with a majority of NDP members would carry out their election platform, but would leave to the town hall meeting decision-making power in all matters not specifically mentioned in the election platform."

In the course of the discussion on "citizen participation", it became clear that many Wafflers do not understand working-class electoral policy. Lack of a class analysis has in fact always been a weak point in the Waffle, giving rise to such utopian concepts as participatory "democracy" among certain Wafflers.

The "town hall" idea — which provides for invitation of all members of the public — may seem to have certain affinities with the concept of a system of workers' councils governing a socialist society, but in reality the concepts are poles apart. We are not now living in a socialist society.

For socialists to urge that NDP councillors relinquish their won powers of political office in favor of a town hall meeting would be absurd. At this stage the party with its organization and its connections to the unions to some degree strengthens and exerts control over its spokesmen. Rather than give before

WAFFLE MLA Cy Gonick

pressures of an anti-labor character that are constantly generated in many forms throughout capitalist society and could be easily focused in "town halls", the socialists should be widening the scope of the political offices they win. Town hall meetings in general would not heighten the class consciousness of the working people — but today would only give the capitalist class and their conscious supporters new leverage to circumvent the power of labor-NDP councillors, setting back the cause of the working class movement.

The fight for an NDP municipal government equipped through its policies to fight the capitalist class on all fronts is the best way at the present time to advance the movement and promote class consciousness.

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Conference Aug. 20-25

Opportunity to learn all about socialism

by Kate Alderdice
Waterloo conference coordinator

Many different educational activities are being offered to participants in the Waterloo Socialist Educational Conference. Eight lectures by Canadian and American socialists will be the main feature of the conference. Dealing with Quebec, the student movement and women's liberation, among others, they will provide socialists from across Canada with an analysis of the whole spectrum of radical politics. Supplementing the lectures will be five series of classes on the New Democratic Party; Quebec; the Science of Socialism; Problems of Women's Liberation; and the World Today, a survey of the international political scene. Activists panels are also being planned on topics such as Organizing on Campus, Spreading the Word (how to promote socialist ideas), the anti-war movement, high school struggles and the trade union movement. These panels will provide an opportunity for activists from these movements to exchange experiences and plan the campaigns and activities of the fall semester.

There'll be plenty of free time for swimming and other sports, and for more informal discussions.

One of the most important themes of the conference will be the growing student movement in Canada. A featured speaker at the conference will be Richard Thompson, a well-known leader of the student movement for several years, formerly an organizer for the Canadian Union of Students and the New Democratic Youth. Thompson, presently an Executive Council member of the Young Socialists, will discuss A Strategy for the Canadian Student Movement. Workshop discussions will deal with some of the important struggles of students in Canadian universities.

The last campus term saw a rebirth of student struggles on campuses from Victoria to Halifax. A number of the participants in these struggles will be at the Waterloo conference, where they will exchange experiences, and lay plans for the next term.

Linda Meissenheimer, president-elect of the student council of Simon Fraser University will lead a session on how to organize on campus.

A number of student councils have expressed interest in the conference, and four of them have already donated over $1,000 to help organize it.

Richard Thompson

News of the conference is spreading rapidly. Requests for information and registration material are coming in every day, many of them from students and other young people who have never been to such a conference before, but are eager to learn about socialist ideas.

Only a little over four weeks remain until the conference, so registration forms should be mailed in immediately. If you can't afford the whole $25 right now, send in a deposit, as much as you can afford, so that the Conference Organizing Committee knows how many people to plan for. Mail it to Socialist Educational Conference, 334 Queen St. W., Toronto.

labor Challenge #36 JUL 1971

Defy Quebec police harassment

An important victory for civil rights in Quebec has been scored by the Hull-Ottawa Committee to Defend Political Rights, July 15. The CDPR action, which received considerable publicity followed more than a month of police harassment of socialists and Quebec nationalists, especially of Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes members who have been selling the paper Liberation in the streets of Hull. They have been continually picked up, questioned, and held without charges by police who claim that they are selling illegally.

The committee issued a challenge to the police in a press release "to publicly arrest and charge a person who will be 'selling a paper without a permit'....A Quebec youth will be selling the paper 'Liberation' at the corner of Eddy and Rue Principale, Thursday, July 15, at 11.00 am. The press, RCMP, QPP and Hull Police are all invited."

Under the watchful eyes of journalists and TV cameras, Marc Dupont of the Hull Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes sold ten copies of Liberation, the socialist, independentist paper. The police failed to even show their faces.

"Selling without a permit" has been the main means used by the police to haul LJS militants into the police station for questioning and harassment. Despite the fact that the Hull bylaw specifically exempts political and religious papers from requiring a sales permit, Liberation salespersons have been picked up under the bylaw. On July 2 three LJSers Marc Dupont, Roger Begin and Victor Raymond were ordered under threat of assault into a police car, three times denied the right to call a lawyer or their parents and released only after 5½ hours of detention and interrogation. Their questioning, carried out not only by Hull city police but also by RCMP and Quebec Provincial Police was political and personal and had nothing to do with the city bylaw, stated Victor Raymond to the press conference held when the challenge to the police was announced.

Other events have made it clear that a consistent scampaign of police harassment is being carried out against the LJS and the paper Liberation. John Ledjerman of the Montreal LJS received a summons July 12 to appear in court on charges of selling Liberation without a permit in Montreal. The charge has been laid despite the precedent of similar charges against the Montreal underground paper Logos being thrown out of court and despite successful challenges to similar bylaws in the Canadian Supreme Court.

The Hull-Ottawa Committee to Defend Political Rights has made it clear that their sales action is only the first in a program designed to challenge the post-War Measures Act repression in Quebec and the continued use of arbitrary measures against socialists and nationalists.

How the FLQ weakened Quebec struggle

(Labor Challenge, July 1971)

by Art Young

Quebec radicals have for many years been debating over the correct strategy to achieve national liberation. Events in Quebec since last October have thrown new light on this debate. They have confirmed that the way to power is through mass struggle around democratic and transitional demands, while at the same time clearly demonstrating the dangerous and harmful consequences of the ultraleft adventurist actions like those of the F'LQ *(Front de Libération du Québec).*

Can the F'LQ's kidnappings of last October be said to have in any way advanced the liberation struggle? Quite the contrary. They but opened the door to a massive assault by Trudeau on some of the basic democratic rights gained by working people in this country over many years of struggle.

Ottawa unleashed a wave of terror against the independentist movement. Almost five hundred independentists were jailed, basic civil liberties were suspended. A massive propaganda campaign was unleashed, linking the Quebec liberation struggle to violence and murder. In this hysterical atmosphere, the Front d'action politique (FRAP), a working-class Montreal political party challenging *(Mayor)* Drapeau's power in the municipal elections, was destroyed. The perspective of independent working-class political action was thus seriously set back — a very welcome development for both the Ottawa and Quebec governments.

Despite all its efforts, and the great power it showed, the defense movement has not been able to generate any substantial support for the kidnappers, or for those who aided them. however slightly. These sincere if misguided revolutionaries are either behind bars, facing lengthy prison sentences, or in permanent exile. They will now obviously only be freed by the Quebec socialist revolution.

While putting the liberation movement in great jeopardy, the actions of this handful of individuals at no time in any serious way threatened the government. Ottawa was not under much pressure from the kidnappings. Contrary to the FLQers' expectations, it was quite willing to sacrifice the lives of the two hostages to achieve its bigger aims. It knew quite well that the most probably result of its invocation of the War Measures Act would be the death of at least *(cabinet minister)* Pierre Laporte — and it proceeded nonetheless.

The FLQers did not understand that capitalist rule either through *(Prime Minister)* Trudeau or *(Quebec Premier)* Bourassa is not dependent on this or that individual — but upon bourgeois property relations and the political forms flowing from them. The ruling class is quite willing to sacrifice individuals to reinforce its power. This was shown again recently in Turkey, where the government refused to ransom the kidnapped Israeli ambassador, resulting in his death.

Quebec Protests

Certainly, the kidnappings created a wave of excitement throughout Quebec, especially after the second one. The Québécois struck out in protest at the federal government's intransigence in refusing to safeguard the hostages' lives by freeing the political prisoners, the main demand of the FLQ. They protested vocally against the federal government's blatant overriding decision-making powers in the crisis, when what was involved, it was universally felt, was basically a Quebec problem. The totally subordinate role of Quebec City in the crisis was plain for all to see.

The dramatic second kidnapping led many into illusions on the size and power of the FLQ. This coupled with the absence of any alternative road offered by the Parti Québécois or the labor movement, led many to go along with the kidnappings and hope for the best.

Finally, the spirit of defiance, of elemental revolt of people oppressed so long came into play, rallying opposition to government's refusal to budge.

But this mood of excitement and opposition, while very widespread, lacked any real substance. The masses, whatever their desires, could play no active role. By the very nature of the terroristic actions, the masses were condemned to the role of passive spectators, applauding or booing the moves of the two sides. In no way did the FLQ actions educate the Québécois, or show them what to do. The FLQ, in its manifesto, broadcast and printed by all the Quebec media, had nothing more to say than to call on the workers to "make your own revolution in your areas, in your places of work."

No Concessions

From the very beginning, the government had decided not to yield to the kidnappers. Two factors were uppermost in its mind. The first factor was its international responsibilities. A ruling-class consensus had been reached across the world that it was necessary to refuse to grant kidnappers' demands, in order to stop the use of this tactic by left-wing groups. Canada was to provide a public demonstration of this consensus.

The second factor was the implications of backing down on its future ability to contain the Quebec struggle. Secretary of State Gerard Pelletier commented in his book *La Crise d'Octobre* that had the kidnappings occurred anywhere else in Canada, Ottawa might have viewed them quite differently.

Originally intending to wait out the kidnappers, relying on the police to find their hideouts, the government was forced to change its strategy. The police proved unable to rapidly track down the FLQers. Furthermore, the government was coming under increasingly powerful pressure from almost all sectors of Quebec society

to yield. The unions, FRAP, the PQ, and others were all calling for compromise, and the Bourassa cabinet was profoundly split.

Trudeau decided to move in with his War Measures Act. Not only would this allow him to carry his unyielding line on the kidnappings, it would, he calculated, permit him to make major and permanent gains against the liberation struggle.

The use of the WMA, the repression, the resultant killing of Laporte, all led to a sharp backlash in Quebec society, which Ottawa correctly foresaw. For a period, the harsh repression enjoyed strong popular support in both nations of Canada. The left was isolated and weakened.

Trudeau fails

Still, Trudeau was unable to make his advantage stick. The Quebec liberation struggle has deep roots and mass support. The working class of this country have built strong organizations: the trade unions and the New Democratic Party. These rapidly protested the War Measures. At the same time, the Trotskyists set out to organize the opposition to the repression into a powerful mass movement that could turn back Trudeau's attack. While their forces were small in number, armed with a correct strategy they were nonetheless able to play a crucial role.

The mass defense movement that was built over the months in both nations successfully defeated the government's attempt to make permanent gains out of the October kidnappings. The political prisoners (except those directly involved with the kidnappings) are free, and the independentist and labor movements have regained their freedom of action.

This victory was won despite the damage done by the F'LQ kidnappings, and with a strategy which is the very opposite of the FLQ's adventurism.

The strategy followed by the ultraleft current in Quebec, which encompasses those persons calling themselves the FLQ is explained in an article which is now being given wide circulation among the Quebec left. Published in different forms, "Revolutionary strategy and role of the vanguard" represents the viewpoint of many of the partisans of terrorism. Given the extreme paucity of written material expressing this viewpoint, the article has sparked considerable interest.

While urging the left in Quebec to prepare for a long period of "armed struggle, urban guerrilla warfare," the article characterizes the current period as being one of "radicalization of the spontaneous social agitation, its politicization and organization, in order to raise the creative violence of the masses to the level of a clear, organized and efficient class consciousness..."

FLQ's Strategy

It is significant that the article rejects the *(concept of the –ed.)* vanguard party, counterposing to it the idea of a revolutionary vanguard whose character it leaves vague.

The FLQ's actions are described as fundamentally political, rather than military.

Implicit throughout the article is the classical anarchist position that spectacular, exemplary actions are required to awaken the masses and to encourage them to struggle; and that such actions saw panic in the ranks of the ruling class, which then resorts to repressive measures. Such repression only exposes the ruling class even more, runs the argument, pushing the workers into making the revolution.

This adventurist position was decisively refuted by the course of events in Quebec, as we have seen. Instead of radicalizing and politicizing the Québécois, the FLQ's actions only isolated the nationalist movement, opening the door for repression. This repression only weakened and confused the movement, which did not recover until the growth of a mass protest movement struggling to defend democratic rights through the power of mass action. At no time did the ruling class consider yielding to the kidnappers out of fear for their own personal safety.

The Trotskyists of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière / League for Socialist Action intervened actively during the crisis. In the days before the invocation of the War Measures Act, they participated in the broad protest movement against the government's intransigent line, while at the same time warning of the inevitable consequences of the FLQ adventure.

Themselves victims of the ensuing wave of repression, the Trotskyists moved out boldly to fight for the restoration of political rights in Quebec. Their candidate for the mayoralty of Montreal, Manon Leger, was one of the first public figures to denounce the War Measures. The LSO/LSA election campaign became a platform to fight the repression.

But at the same time the Trotskyists maintained their opposition to the FLQ's strategy. In an emergency issue of their newspaper *La Lutte Ouvriére*, published last October while its editor was being held in prison under the War Measures Act, they asked: "What is the end result of the FLQ's actions and of its terrorist policy?" answering "Far from embarrassing the government and forcing it to draw back, the FLQ has strengthened Trudeau's hand. Have the FLQ's actions mobilized and strengthened the working class? No.

"The FLQ has substituted the isolated actions of a small handful for the mass political action of the working class, the only road for Quebec's liberation. The task of socialists and all those who want an independent and socialist Quebec is to win the working class to a program of struggle; we must organize as a class on the economic and political level to take power into our own hands!"

Mass Action

The Leninist strategy involves mass struggle around a program corresponding to the objective needs of the masses and their current level of understanding. Through such mass struggles, the working class and its allies will come to understand the nature of capitalist society and the necessity of fighting for socialism. In the course of this fight, the class will acquire the knowledge and self-confidence necessary to carry through the struggle, and will test the various programs and leaderships offered to it. A mass revolutionary-socialist party is needed to lead the class to victory.

It was the concrete application of this strategy which led to the defense victory. The Trotskyists in both nations played a vital role in organizing the broader forces which, through ongoing and increasing struggles, were able to mobilize forces so powerful that Trudeau was forced to retreat.

This historic victory has also exposed and weakened the government, while building the confidence of the working class and its allies in their own power. In this sense the mass actions can be said to have largely surmounted the negative effects of the October FLQ adventure and to have struck an important blow for Quebec liberation and the socialist revolution.

Conflicting views on the Peruvian regime

(From Labor Challenge, July 1971)

A wide controversy continues within the revolutionary left on the nature of the self-proclaimed 'anti-imperialist' regimes that have come to power in Bolivia, Peru and Chile. The Cuban leadership, for example, has proffered support to the rulers of the latter two countries.

The following interview will help clarify the issues involved, presenting as it does the diametrically opposed viewpoints of two of the best-known Peruvian revolutionaries, Hector Bejar and Hugo Blanco, on events in their country. Bejar, a leader of the 1965 guerrilla struggle, now supports the military junta. Blanco, a Trotskyist jailed for leading a peasant rebellion in 1962-63, is politically active in opposition to the regime.

The interview was first published in the June 10 issue of the Stockholm daily Dagens Nyheter. *From the text, it appears that the correspondent, Bobi Sourander, may not have talked to Blanco and Bejar together, but has put together a composite interview. The translation from the Swedish is by* Jntercontinential Press *(SWP, New York).*

Peru is a country deformed by centuries of social injustice, a typical part of the third world!

For two and a half years it has been ruled by a junta of generals — there is not a single civilian minister. These generals lead an army whose outstanding military exploit during this century was suppressing the 1962-65 peasant uprisings and outbreaks of guerrilla warfare.

Hugo Blanco and Hector Bejar were jailed in those years.

The generals rapidly gained attention by a long series of reforms and by running the country's economy with an iron hand. New, intelligent decrees issued from their ministries — decrees on land reform; industrial cooperatives, nationalizations ... and finally a surprising decree granting full amnesty to all political prisoners. Why was this decree issued?

Hector Bejar, who spent five years in Lurigancho, Peru's only model prison, answered: "Yes, why? They were taking a lot of political risks in both the domestic and international context. Nevertheless, we are out. This is the first unconditional amnesty ever granted in this country, I think that it is a token of the government's good intentions to respect all opposition. It was an attempt, moreover, to improve their reputation, which had been tarnished during their campaigns against the radical left."

Hugo Blanco, who spent six years (actually almost eight years — I.P. Ed.) in prison, most of them in the Gehenna of El Fronton, answered: "Under the pressure of European public opinion, they released the best-known prisoners. I was sentenced to death before a long series of well-known intellectuals spoke out on my behalf, In Sweden, Amnesty International chose me as political prisoner of the year. If it had not been for this, I would never have been released. There are still at least fifty political prisoners in Peru. They are less well-known than we are."

Question: What induced these officers, led by President and General Juan Velasco, to take

power and produce this series of reforms?

Bejar: Although they approached the problem from a different position, they, like us, wanted to put an end to the domination of this country by the U.S. and the big landowners. It would take a long explanation to show why they took this attitude, but it is likely that precisely their campaign against us served as a stimulus to reflection. These generals come from the same middle class as we student and peasant leaders. They have never been and never will be mercenaries of big capital. The fact is that they are on the road to making our revolution.

Blanco: The rise of the generals is an indication that imperialism has changed. First the U.S., with the support of our ruling class, stole our raw materials. Now a number of highly developed industrial countries need new markets. Our ruling generals want to bind Peru to this bloc — for their own survival.

Question: Are they succeeding?

Bejar: They have already succeeded. They have guided Peru's first steps toward economic liberation both from the U.S. and from the all-powerful Peruvian ruling class. Just look at the big sugar plantations in the north. Who is making the decisions there? Not the U.S. embassy, or the Grace or Guildemeister families either!

Blanco: The generals can never succeed. There is no way for any country in the third world really to catch up with the industrialized capitalist countries.

Question: What is the greatest difficulty the generals are facing?

Bejar: Their biggest problem is one that always exists when reforms come from the top — to win the support of the common man for their methods. You can see that the people are reacting passively to the government's reforms, however well disposed they are to them.

Blanco: The people! The generals don't dare permit a movement arising directly from the people's needs. The popular minister of the interior, General Artola, was obliged to suppress squatters in the slum area of Pamplona by force. After that he had to resign his post ...

Question: Is Peru a democracy where every citizen can defend his beliefs?

Bejar: It all depends on the circumstances ... But, to answer briefly. This country is achieving important revolutionary objectives, maintaining a large measure of freedom of expression at the same time.

Blanco: They won't let me leave Lima. I have been absolutely forbidden to go to the valley of La Convencion, where the peasants are waiting for me. I was jailed for twenty-four hours after criticizing the government at a rally. The land reform, the military government's first big project, will soon be two years old and strikes have begun to develop.

Bejar: The government has made mistakes and has been impeded by a reactionary bureaucracy.

But the reason for the strikes is that some formerly privileged groups of workers have made errors.

Blanco: At the Casa Grande sugar plantation, the so-called owners have gone or strike against themselves! Overpaid functionaries were running the revolution from the former bosses' houses. The plantation is a state enterprise, not a cooperative.

The peasants in the highlands are afraid; I know it. They do not dare oppose a reform that is not the kind they want. Why, for instance, should they pay for the land when it was once taken from them?

Question: Are you both still politically active?

Bejar: I am a socialist. I support the military men insofar as they are working for the same goals I want to see achieved. But is there any reason they should cease doing so? Isn't it possible that they, like many other Peruvians, feel a willingness to make sacrifices to raise their country from poverty? Must a revolution be made by socialists?

Blanco: I am a Trotskyist. Revolutions are not made by ordering the people to make them. And when a revolution has started, no one can tell it what to do.

Question: What do you think about prisons?

Bejar: Being imprisoned is the worst thing that can happen to a man. The government has issued a decree on prison reform but it hasn't gone into effect.

Blanco: The prisons mirror the cruelest truths about any country. In El Fronton, 90 percent of the prisoners were *(became)* homosexuals.

Hector Bejar and Hugo Blanco each give their own picture of their country. Since their release they have not even met. Despite his expression of sympathy for the government, Bejar gives no impression that he is acting against his convictions. He works as a journalist for the political weekly *Oiga*. He met me along with his wife, Ana Maria, who visited Sweden during her campaign to win her husband's release. Bejar argues with wit and good humour. He obviously enjoys his freedom.

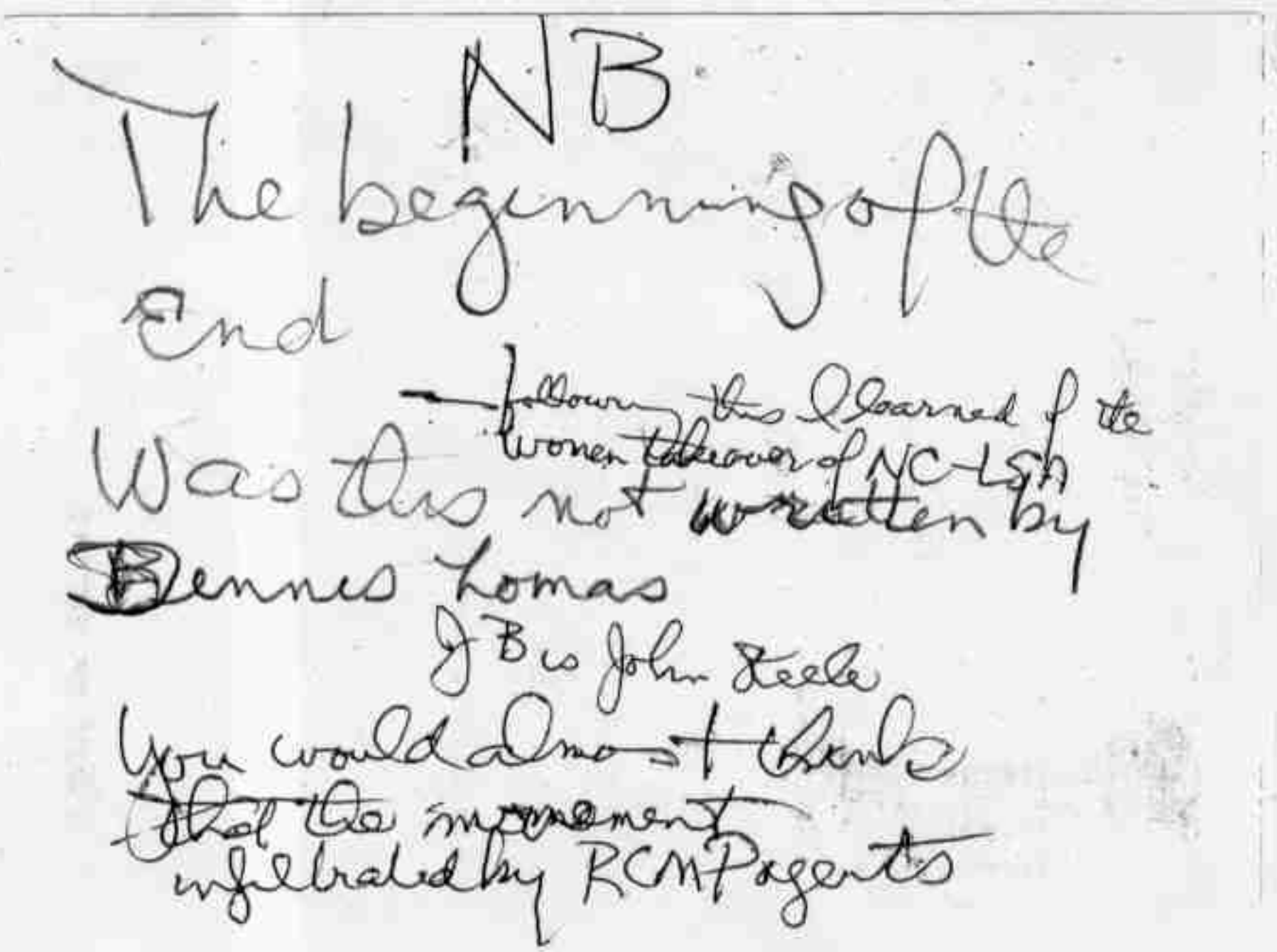
Hugo Blanco lives alone, in what can clearly be called poor circumstances. He makes his living by writing articles and resides in a cheap rooming house. He was waiting for a delegation of peasants from La Convencion. When they failed to come, he was visibly disappointed.

He obviously longs to be in La Convencion, the valley where it all started, the whole process that brought the officers to power.

(Introductory note by R.D. to a typed report by Dennis L., circa 1971)

(Later note by R.D. on cover page– fragile handwriting indicates about 1988): N.B. The beginning of the end – following this I learned of the women's takeover of the NC-LSA. Was this not written by Dennis L. (JB is John S.) You would almost think that the movement was infiltrated by RCMP agents.

In Spring 1971 RD returned from Europe. JS was acting National Secretary – to find this document in the file. JS had done nothing about it. RD had it mimeographed and circulated. It affirmed everything RD had been observing from afar as taking place. L. wanted a declaration of war. RD convinced him to cool it in light of ultraleft attacks opening up against the present leadership. NB comments on 1970 youth convention breakdown. Wasn't L. aware of what took place at this Plenum – women's lib took over, Riddell did nothing



What we want is to call for concrete demands and mobilize people to win them.(Peter Camejo, Liberalism, Ultraleftism or Mass Action)

During the last Convention in Montreal I decided that the central leadership, as it was to be constituted, would not be able to build a collective leadership. I talked to some comrades extensively about this at the convention. During the plenum immediately following the convention I opposed the slate of nominations by running for the post of Executive Secretary.

Since then I have remained opposed to the composition of the Bureau.

My next important experience, the one that convinced me to form a tendency to challenge the policy and leadership of the Y.S., was the recent Y.S. plenum.

Away from the Mass Action Orientation

Through discussions at the plenum I learned, with surprize, that the Young Socialists was experiencing a new turn. What is it? When did it take place? Where is the documentation? I wondered.

The turn was explained this way: The Young Socialists must move out dramatically in its own name; it must demonstrate against the injustices of this society, pollution, unemployment, etc., in striking actions that will attract enraged youth; and to accomplish this, it does not necessarily have to put forward transitional demands, even any concrete demands, to gain publicity, etc.

According to some comrades the turn began at the youth convention at Christmas. If it did many comrades were not aware of it. Although a few comrades discussed it, the convention never voted on it. And where has this turn been formulated on paper so that comrades can study it? I know of no place. I learned of the turn from comrades in the ISA Political Committee.

The lack of statements on the turn makes criticism of it very difficult. I can only approximate the justification for it. Hopefully the publication of this contribution and subsequent rebuttals can clarify the positions.

Some of my statements could be misrepresentations. I do not apologize; I condemn the reason for them--- the absence of documentation and discussion about this re-- orientation. Before attempting to list some justifications for this turn, I will describe two actions, encompassed by the turn, that will vividly show comrades what is happening.

1. Recently in Toronto comrades demonstrated against the opening of Ontario Place. Our slogans were "Bullshit" and "We Want Jobs". "Bullshit" describes the uselessness of building that extravagant centenial project. "We Want Jobs" attempts to formulate a challenge to the government to provide jobs to the millions of unemployed youth, instead of erecting showplaces. The slogans are confusing because the construction of the complex provided jobs. Demanding jobs without showing how they can be provided is abstract. The demands resort to vulgarity.

The other example, more outrageous, was staged by some Vancouver women comrades. Incensed by a male chauvinist sign on a store, they decided to paste a banner on the store saying "This sign degrades women". Late in the night they crept up to the store, put the banner up, werecaught by the police, and jailed. Later they were released without charges. This action is clearly adventuristic. It posed no demands, reached noone but the police, and was carried out without the approval of the Y.S. local. It is wholly alien to the traditions of Trotskyism.

The Ontario Place demonstration was planned by the leadership in Toronto. It obviously was supported by the central leadership in the Y.S. The second example was extensively cited in the last plenum as an example of a "neat" action of the Y.S. in its women's liberation activity.

I will list the justifications for the turn as I heard them:

1. The turn does not contradict the mass strategy. Our main emphasis remains on building mass actions around transitional demands, or against repression. The tactics employed in the turn, although they may be by themselves contradictory to the mass action perspective, are correct in the context of the overall mass action strategy. The turn allows us to put the Y.S. forth more boldly, receive more

publicity, and recruit more youth.

2. Our main task, the theme o f the last convention , is to build the Y.S. By employing the turn which will recruit youth to the movement, the Y.S. will be better able to build the mass movements.

3. Although the tactics employed by this turn could lead to ultra-leftism, the objective political conditions in English Canada will dampen this tendency. The objective conditions are;

a. The dampening effect on ultra-leftism exerted by the mass labor party, the NDP.

b. The absence of any cross-Canada ultra-left organization which will promote ultra-leftism.

4. The Y.S. must sharply identify itself as the revolutionary youth organization in order to distinguish itself from the NDP which radical youth identify with parliamentarism.

5 The danger of deteroration of the Y.S. will be offset by comrades themselves by virtue of their understanding of the Trotskyist program.

6. The Young Socialists is a youth movement. It has to relate to youth where they are at, do things they want to do.

7. Sometimes the Y.S. will make mistakes, but the comrades have to learn by their mistakes.

Each one of these justifications is incorrect. The following seven points refute them in order;

1. Any tactic, no matter how impressive, is wrong if it contradicts the overall strategy. This is a basic relationship between strategy and tactics. The few comrades pasting a banner on a store window in the early hours of the morning were engaging in adventurism and cutting across the mass action strategy.

2. This assumes that any tactic that recruits members to the Y.S. is correct, even if the tactic is contradictory to the mass action strategy. We called this sectarianism at one time.

3. I find this reason hard to take seriously. It contradicts the Fourth International's document which points out the danger of ultra-leftism in the student movement on a world scale. The objective conditions on the campuses and in the high-schools cause ultra-leftism. Ultra-left organizations are the result.

During the last student upsurge, approximately two years ago, the NDP did not stop the emergence of ultra-leftism. Furthermore the NDP is not a major factor in student politics. The thrust of the student movement is essentially the same in Canada as in the U.S. toward student-faculty-staff control in the red university. On the campuses and in the high schools the NDP does not play a significant role. Even if it was a major factor we cannot assume that it would dampen ultra-leftism.

In the present upsurge ultra-leftism and sectarianism have been encountered. CPL's intervention in the high school walkouts in Toronto is an example.

Instead of arming comrades to fight ultra-leftism, the turn suggests that comrades do what the ultra-leftists do. This is a good way to recruit ultra-leftists, but not to build a leninist youth movement.

4. For at least two years we have had little difficulty distinguishing ourselves from the NDP in most areas. Even if distinguishing the YS from the NDP was a problem

in the student movement, using incorrect tactics to rectify the problem would be wrong.

5 This arguement would not even be adequate if we assume that the Y.S. is not deteriorating politically. I maintain that the Y.S. is deteriorating politically.

6 Some things youth are doing or would enjoy doing are politically incorrect.

7 This turn is not an isolated mistake that can be overlooked. It is pulling the Y.S. away from Trotskyism.

Collapse of the YS Leadership

Why has this turn taken place? There are at least five reasons.

1 The failure to build a collective leadership in the Y.S. which is able to direct the movement in its intervention in the mass movement, especially the student movement. This failure is largely the responsibility of the central YS leadership lead by the Bureau
2 The exclusive and adventuristic character of the present central leadership led by the Bureau
3 The pressure of the current radicalization combined with the pressure of ultra-leftism in Canada and on a world scale.
4 The support gieven by leading LSA comrades to the turn.
5. The lack of resources in the movement.

Each of these points needs to be motivated and amplified. Hopefully further discussions and documentation will clarify the reasons in comrades' minds. I will expand on some of the points.

1. At the beginning of the last plenum comrades were asking some basic questions; for instance, "Does a collective leadership exist?"
The reply to the claim that we haven't a collective leadership has been: Although the present central leadership has its difficulties, it is the best we have; the main problem is that we haven't the resources to do any better, the mere shifting of personnel is a mistaken, mechanistic concept; further ecruitment and development of comrades will solve the problem of leadership.

Some comrades, in attempting to explain the particular problems of leadership in the YS, have evoked the world crisis of leadership as a cause. What is happening in the YS is natural, they say.

I maintain that the problems of leadership in the YS at present are not the problems encountered through the forward moving development of leadership. The problems result from the collapse and bankrupcty of the YS leadership. There are at least three indications of this:
a. the most significant indication is that the EC has not been conscious that this new orientation is a break with Trotskyism.
b. significant numbers of comrades on the EC do not consider themselves part of the leadership in any real sense.
c. the overall level of political sophistication of the EC is declining. This discussion at the plenum was hardly up to the level at the convention. The professionalism of the comrades, their attentiveness, punctuality, etc. was abysmal.

2. The development of an exclusive leadership is shown in at least two ways:
a.the promotion, which is not based on experience or ability, of some comrades, while others, very often with more experience, are not given the opportunities.
b.the widespread estrangement of a range of comrades on the EC (and for that matter, comrades not on the EC) from the Bureau. This estrangement takes various forms and is at various stages. It was <u>more</u> noticeable at the last plenum than

ever before.

The central leadership, headed by the Bureau, partly because of its exclusive-- ness, has not been able to effectively lead the YS's intervention in the mass move- ments and hs resorted to adventurism. It is also the main cause of the collapse of the YS leadership.

The reason given in the past for keeping the central leadership is: Granted the comrades have their problems, we can discuss that sometime. Nevertheless they are best able to lead the YS at this time; we need them until another leadership replaces them.

I have been waiting. I am confident that another leadership will soon be built. It will come from the tendency.

3.and4. These points are largely self-explanatory.

5. The smallness of the movement's resources and the thinness of its cadre are pro- blems hindering the building of the YS leadership. Like the crisis of leadership on a world scale they are long term. They should not stop us from solving the cur- rent leadership prcblem in the YS which is immediately before us.

Summary

1. A turn--reorientation--has occured without documentation or meaningful discus- sion.

2. This turn is moving the YS away from Trotskyism and is tending to assume an ad- venturistic character.

3. The main cuase of this turn is the exclusiveness and adventuristic nature of the YS central leadership, headed by the Bureau.

The turn is not confined to adventurism. The following points take up some other aspects of the turn. I will comment briefly on some of them. More discuss- ion is needed on all of them.

1. The Waterloo conference--this conference was planned for five months before it is scheduled to begin, has a full-timer working on it, and will require a fund drive to raise the thousands of dollars needed to finance it. It is the biggest single activity that the movement has ever attempted; yet as it was originally con- ceived, it is essentially inward oriented, meant only to build the Young Socialists. It seems sectarian to me.

2. The lax attitude towards unemployment of comrades.

3. The idea that the movement has to begin to be a vehicle for solving comrades' personal problems--this concept was virtually endorsed by the YS plenum. I is alien to Trotskyism.

4. The July 1 anti-confederation demonstration--the movement is calling for a united front to organize a mass rally for independence. But where are the concrete demands? The mass action strategy does not just mean having masses on the streets. They should be demanding something concrete, not something abstract like indepen- dence. The mass action strategy applies to all tactics, not just to most tactics. This action seems to be a mistaken pragmatic attempt to unite the nationalist left, and to recruit to the movement.

5. The cross-Canada reserach into the histroy of the labor movement and the publication of the results--I fail to see how this relates to our work in the mass movements or why the YS would want to publish the scattered fragments of information that we will be able to uncover. We are not a university research team.

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mail to Socialist Educational Conference, 334 Queen St. West, Toronto

Reports & Statements adopted by Summer 1971 Plenum of the Central Committee of the LSA-LSO:

The Struggle for an Independent Quebec

Reporter: Alain Beiner
Adopted by the Plenum of the YS/LJS August 24, 1971.

We consider the Québécois masses' support of independence to be profoundly revolutionary, indicating a collective discontent and disillusionment in the capacity of the existing legal and politica1 structures (and, by implication, the **social** structures which they consecrate) to overcome the national inequality they suffer. This support signifies a deep desire for radical transformation of the entire political structure.

We consider Quebec nationalism to be similar to that of the Catalan workers and peasants in Spain, which Trotsky characterized as "the envelope of their social indignation".

The entirely progressive thrust of national consciousness toward a mass sentiment for independence has opened a new, higher stage in the Quebec national struggle, one of great revolutionary significance. The demand for independence is mobilizing broad masses of workers and students against the ruling class, against the imperialist hold on Quebec's economy.

This demand on the part of the workers clearly expresses a desire, not for "paper independence", but for a genuine liberation of Quebec, for control of Quebec's economy by the majority of Québécois, that is, by the workers and their allies. The call for independence is the **form** of this essential content. The **political** demand for independence is the expression of a definite **social content.** Masses of workers and students do not support independence simply to place the Québécois bosses in a better position vis-à-vis the foreign bosses, or to replace their anglophone *(English-speaking)* bosses with francophone bosses. They support it for their **own interests** with the aim of achieving their **own liberation**.

That is why the Trotskyists give the struggle for independence their unconditional support. The mass independentist movement is an ongoing movement, which we must support as a whole and promote. We must encourage it to **mobilize independently** in the streets, **to win independence**.

We must intervene actively in it, as the revolutionary socialist tendency, the internationalist tendency, in order to **win new cadres**, for the Trotskyist movement, and in order to win the movement **as a whole** to our program. We must strive for its leadership by proving the superiority of our program and our organisation over our opponents in the independentist movement.

We must support the **democratic** slogan of independence without having to explicitly qualify it on every occasion as being realizable only through the socialist revolution. This

can only serve to **demark** us and **cut us off** from the Québécois masses. It is the task of the Trotskyist vanguard to become **part** of the masses, to develop with them as they develop and to appear as the most **conscious and consistent** element of this- process, while at all times defending our Marxist **doctrine** and our historically created **cadre.** Rather than criticize, minimize, underestimate or qualify this wholly progressive demand, it is our task to adopt it, embrace it, and **define the class forces** in Quebec today which can accomplish it. We must inject a transitional social content into this demand by formulating a series of democratic and transitional demands concerning all aspects of the crisis of capitalist Quebec, and addressed to all oppressed sectors of its population. This program must be submitted to the masses for their consideration, testing and adoption, as **the program of an independent Quebec.**

This means that we support **Québécois nationalism**, unconditionally – that we are nationalists. We are, in fact, the most consistent nationalists – that should always be the case with internationalists in an oppressed nation.

We support Québécois nationalism while we consistently combat the nationalism of Canadian federalists, because the former mobilizes masses of workers and students against the status quo, against the Canadian ruling class and against imperialism, for progressive demands. Canadian nationalism is the opposition of the Canadian ruling class to the Québécois' mass struggles, against national liberation, for the maintenance of the status quo (...)

(But the Canadian nationalism of the Ottawa Parliament and big business Bay Street, and St-Jacques Street as well – as most acutely expressed by the War Measures Act – is opposed by the workers of both nations, and is also actively opposed by forces espousing by anti-imperialist nationalist sentiment in English Canada, which have consistently defended the right of Quebec to self-determination –Website editorial note)

(...) It is a nationalism which seeks to prolong the integrity and unity of the Canadian capitalist state. Those on the left such ns the sectarian Workers League, who deny the existence of the Québécois nation in order to oppose its nationalism, objectively find themselves in the same gutter as the ruling class, in spite of their ultra-left rhetoric about putting the "class struggle" forward in place of **all** nationalisms. Only complete sectarians could make such a mockery of Marxism by putting all nationalisms in one bag.

Marxism distinguishes concretely and historically between the revolutionary nationalism of oppressed nations in the age of imperialism, and the reactionary nationalism of oppressor nations. Let's make it clear that we fully and unconditionally support Québécois nationalism, so that we won't find any articles in the pro-PQ press written by comrades, declaring "No to Canadian federalist nationalism, No to Québécois nationalism!" as comrade Diane did on the women's liberation question in *Point-de Mire*, "No to Male Chauvinism, No to Feminism".

Does our support and promotion of the struggle for an independent Quebec, this democratic demand which leaves open its class character – does this constitute some sort

of concession to the Menshevik "theory of two stages"? Is this demand reformist? The answer is no!

The theory of the permanent revolution **does not** involve negating the existence of .the unsolved bourgeois-democratic tasks. The theory of the permanent revolution does not imply **skipping over** this stage of the coming Québécois revolution, or reducing its central importance in any way. The permanent revolution involves three elements which concern the present struggle of the Québécois masses for independence:

1) It first of all involves, as I mentioned earlier, defining which social forces have the power and the will to lead a consistent struggle for an independent state, a state which will be truly independent and capable of solving all the democratic tasks – a state which can carry out the national liberation of Quebec.

The national tasks left unsolved by the establishment of the Canadian state and Canadian capitalism have traditionally been consummated by the bourgeois democratic revolution. In the present historical period, these tasks can only be solved under working class leadership, **in spite of and in opposition to,** the Canadian national bourgeoisie. In other words, that independent state which alone can be a valid instrument in carrying out all the "left-over" democratic tasks, must be a workers' state. That is the first element of the permanent revolution.

2) Secondly, it involves determining the **means** by which independence can be accomplished. We must tell the Québécois masses that to win independence, they cannot rely on elections, nor on lobbying this or that other Québécois capitalist politician, nor on Trudeau's Royal Commissions or Victoria Conferences, nor on the FLQ's bombs. We must advocate **proletarian means of struggle,** that is, mass mobilizations, in the streets, independent of the ruling class. This is the second element of permanent revolution in Quebec.

3) Thirdly, the theory of permanent revolution involves countering the notion that there will be two distinct stages in the Quebec revolution – the first to obtain independence, against the federal government, perhaps even with the support of some local bosses; the second, separate and. somewhat later, for the establishment of socialism, against **all** bosses. This theory can disarm the independentist movement, by fostering false illusions about which side French-speaking bosses -- and capitalist politicians are on. While the revolution may be initiated around the struggle for independence, the Québécois workers and their allies won't stop and pause after the establishment of some formal independence, but will proceed to liberate themselves of all oppressors, both English and French speaking. While the Québécois proletarian revolution will thus have a dual or combined character, it will most likely start off as a "national-democratic" revolution, proceeding rapidly and uninterruptedly to socialist conclusions. Its enemy throughout will be the bourgeoisie, both foreign and local.

These are the three elements of the theory of permanent revolution applied to Quebec, not in any way modifying or qualifying the democratic demand thrown up by the masses

in struggle. In fact, the theory of permanent revolution demonstrates precisely how such democratic demands as national independence can be consistently **fought for and won**. But only in taking up and unconditionally fighting to win this demand, can we be in a position to popularize the full implications of this theory. Independence is the expression, or the envelope in which our program and strategy must be presented to the masses.

Right from the start of this plenum, certain elements in our ranks have revealed a complete misunderstanding of the transitional program and this is of some importance to the Quebec struggle as well as the other struggles. It caused us some particular problems in Montreal leading up to the July 1 demonstration. Shortly after the LJS initiated the united front around independence, a majority of the youth local voted that the demonstration should be held around the theme "Independence and Socialism", since the demand for independence had no "explicit class character". This wasn't totally disastrous since the Trotskyists of the LSO/LSA remained within the united front to propel it ahead during the week-long absence of the LJS.

According to the unofficial minority that carried that vote, independence was not a transitional demand, was not explicitly proletarian, therefore could possibly be achieved within the framework of bourgeois, ideology and property relations, and therefore was reformist and led to government co-option. In any case, they said, it didn't "clearly distinguish itself" from the demand supported by 80,000 Parti Québécois members. (Although of little importance, I should mention in passing that nowhere does the PQ formally support the demand for independence, but rather calls for "sovereignty", "associate status", etc.) Less than a week later, having less than half the votes anyway, this undeclared minority announced that it was withdrawing from its previous position for LJS abstention from the united front, since it would have involved a public break with the LS0/LSA. Moreover, they admitted that the slogan "independence and Socialism" was a bit sectarian. While now accepting the July 1 action, they expressed sharp criticisms on the lack of "class character" of the demand for independence.

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What is our transitional program? It is not a program for ourselves, for the vanguard – something which expresses or satisfies our revolutionary emotions. It is shaped by us **for** the masses. It is not fixed or immutable, but must be reformulated according to the objective situation as well as the level of consciousness of broad masses, as expressed through their struggles and demands. It is a guide for revolutionaries wanting to reach the masses – it is a tool which the small vanguard can use to mobilize large numbers of people. It is the programmatic expression of the fact that capitalism cannot and will not solve any of the burning crises of society without mass pressure and independent mobilization.

The content of the transitional program is not to be superimposed or tacked on to demands raised in mass struggles. Rather, the program has to adopt and include the demands raised by all mass struggles and movements which are objectively posed against the ruling class and its system. The transitional program is above all a means of mobilizing masses, and, as Trotsky said, mobilization is the revolutionary school of the masses.

The transitional program includes both democratic and transitional demands. These are simply historical categories and not some expression of relative merit or revolutionary value. Democratic demands are **not** more reformist or co-optible by the government. They are not less revolutionary than the others. The merit of each demand can only be assessed in a concrete situation, in terms of its capacity to mobilize masses.

In fact, any one demand in the transitional program can be granted within capitalism, be it democratic or transitional. The program **as a whole** cannot be conceded. The democratic and transitional demands in our program can only be granted in response to massive pressure and mobilization. In fact, we fight for these demands because we know that they can be won, either before or after the revolution.

It is important to understand that the democratic demands in our program are not some sort of second-class "low-level" thing. The struggle for the extension of democracy today is profoundly revolutionary, The demand for independence, for example, in Quebec today, is profoundly more revolutionary than the classic transitional demand of "30 for 40" *('30 hours work for 40 hours pay' – a slogan for combatting unemployment and for distributing the benefits of increased productivity to the workers –ed.)*

Democratic demands play a key role in oppressed nations. The central problem in Quebec is the unresolved national democratic tasks. Imperialist domination of the economy, lack of self-determination, the language question and other similar problems are central to the class struggle there. Both Lenin and Trotsky considered the revolution in oppressed nations would have **a combined** nature, and that in the age of imperialism, democratic demands wore necessarily central to the struggle. The main way to expose and combat the national bourgeoisie and the PQ is to prove that the Trotskyist movement is the best lighter for completion of the national tasks In Quebec.

It is on the basis of a struggle to establish an independent Quebec, which is the central issue for the Québécois nation, that the PQ will be unmasked by the revolutionary vanguard. It is not revolutionary to seek to distinguish ourselves from the demands of the PQ or any individual capitalist politician, by tacking the word socialist onto every demand. Lévesque, Lesage, and others are known to have paid verbal homage to words like 'socialism.' All this does is leave the actual leadership of the ongoing national struggle in their hands!

The key question in Quebec, as elsewhere, is the construction of the Trotskyist vanguard party and youth movement, to intervene in Quebec politics and challenge the PQ leadership. Only an independent Trotskyist movement that places itself in the

forefront of the democratic struggles of the oppressed Québécois nation, can successfully challenge the PQ and win the leadership of the national and class struggles.

The building of the mass Trotskyist youth organization and revolutionary party in Quebec will be accomplished by extending our influence within the independentist movement. Through patient explanation, education and organization, we must **prove** to the masses of independentists that only our strategy and program can lead to victory.

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(end of report)

Elect NDP gov't in Alberta!

pages 6 & 8

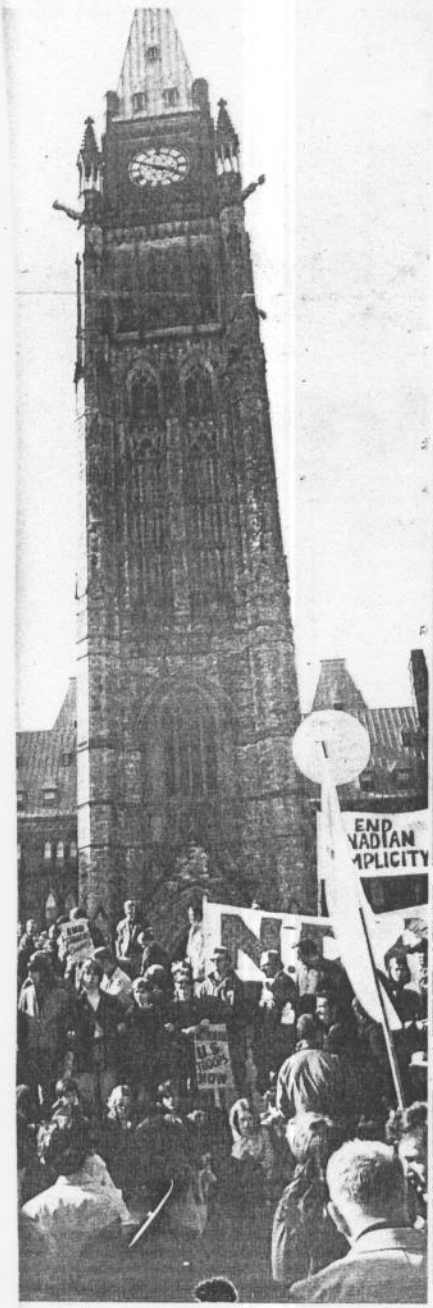
labor Challenge

Vol. 2, No. 15 (37) Aug. 9, 1971 15 cents

European women fight for right to abortion

page 7

Conference to take up challenge of expanding antiwar movement



Ottawa 1966

Montreal 1967

Toronto 1970

by The Editors

The conference of the Vietnam Mobilization Committee is a historic achievement for the antiwar movement. The first such cross-country conference, it occurs at a time when opposition to the war is reaching an all-time high and when the possibilities ofwinning its goal have never been greater.

Often in the past the government and the media have mocked at the accusations levelled by the antiwar movement. But the Pentagon Papers — official, top-secret government documents — demonstrate that every one of the accusations is true.

In particular, the papers reveal shocking details of Canada's complicity — how Ottawa has acted as a messenger and a spy for the U.S. aggression against the Vietnamese.

These revelations have greatly increased people's understanding of Canada's complicity, and opposition to it. The antiwar movement stands poised for a new surge of support.

This is shown concretely by the response to the VMC confernece, a response which is unprecedented in the history of the struggle against the war. The great breadth of sponsorship of the conference, the prominence of those who will address it, and the wide geographical representation at it, are all indications of the favorable situation for the antiwar movement today.

What are the tasks of this conference?

In the past, some have challenged the democratic and mass-action character of the movement, as well as its central demands "End Canada's complicity" and "Withdraw all U.S. troops now". But the falseness of these challenges have been decisively demonstrated by the experience of the movement itself. The road forward is clear.

The task of the conference, then, is to respond to the call of the U.S. antiwar movement for massive protests on Nov. 6; to tap the enormously-increased revulsion at Trudeau's Vietnam complicity; and to find ways to involve decisive sectors of the population — labor, Quebecois, women, youth — in these protest actions, which can be a big stride forward towards our goal of building an antiwar movement powerful enough to break Ottawa from its complicity.

History of the antiwar movement

pages 4-5

labor Challenge

Alberta election: NDP to power!

by W. Brown

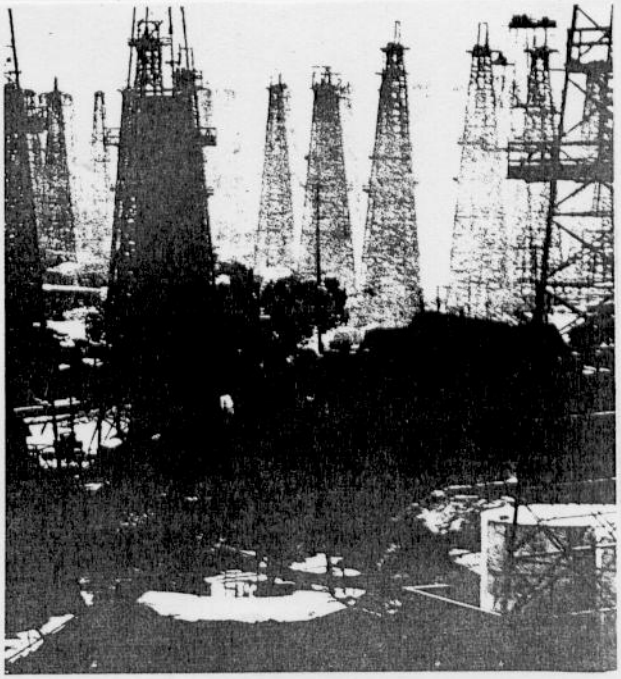
EDMONTON — On August 30 people across Alberta will cast ballots to decide who will form the government over the next four years. Although the news media has given the impression that the fight is between the big business parties, the "Tory twins" as NDP leader Notley has named the Social Credit Party in power since 1935, and the 'opposition' Conservatives, it has increasingly become evident that this is not the case.

High unemployment, the crisis on the farm, and the giveaway of natural resources have led more and more working people, students and farmers to turn to the Alberta NDP, the only party that poses meaningful solutions to present problems.

Recent events across Canada, in particular the Saskatchewan NDP victory, and by-election victories in Manitoba and on the federal level in Brant, have reinforced this trend towards the NDP. That the NDP now forms the government of two of three prairie provinces gives a legitimacy to the Alberta NDP, which at present holds no seats in the legislature, in its role as the labor alternative to big business rule.

In a press conference held soon after the election call Notley released the NDP election program, one that goes far in answering the needs of working people in Alberta. In the area of social welfare it proposes the establishing of premium-free dental and medical care, the removing of tuition fees for students and the setting up of a province-wide day care system. It further calls for the implementation of the Status of Women Report on a provincial level. In the field of resources, crucial to the development of the Alberta economy, the NDP program calls for public ownership of utilities such as Calgary Power (the biggest distributor of electricity in Alberta), the McIntyre-Porcupine coal deposits, the Athabaska oil sands development, natural gas deposits and all provincial pipelines.

Although these proposals are a step in the direction of regaining control of the economy for the use of the people of Alberta, they go only half-way to solving the problem. Resources in the form of oil, gas and coal are shipped out to be refined and used elsewhere. The resources industry is almost wholly American-owned and places its own interests before those of the people of Alberta. This has led to the under-development of secondary industry the lack of which is largely responsible for the high level of unemployment in the province. The only answer, as the Waffle movement within the NDP has pointed out, is nationalization of the entire resources industry and the development of secondary industry in Alberta.



NDP CAMPAIGNS AGAINST RESOURCES SELL-OUT. Under Socred government natural resources, such as oil, are handed over to foreign monopolies, intensifying Alberta's unemployment crisis.

It will remain for the Waffle, which has several candidates in the running, to present a socialist alternative before the people. The election will provide a challenge to the Waffle to broaden its support to areas outside Edmonton. It will also be largely up to the Waffle to insure that policies put forward by the NDP are those decided by the last convention.

Of immediate concern to NDPers and members of the labor movement is the position taken by officials of the Alberta Federation of Labor. They have decided not to support the NDP as a whole, endorsing only three NDP candidates without even going so far as to identify them as NDPers. This can only be considered a retrograde step, one which could severely undermine the presentation of the NDP as the labor alternative.

Also of concern is the fact that at present only 50 candidates have been nominated to contest 75 seats. Every effort must be made to contest all 75 seats so as to present before youth, women, working people and farmers the only alternative to big business domination of Alberta politics.

labor Challenge #37 Aug. 1971

NDP candidate on women's rights

Linda Gaboury, New Democratic Party candidate for Edmonton Centre was interviewed for Labor Challenge by Astrid Zajac, shortly after the Alberta campaign began.

Question: What is the NDP's stand on women's liberation and the demands that the movement has put forward, such as repeal of the abortion laws, child care centres and equal pay for equal work?

Answer: In general the NDP supports the women's movement and the party has now come out in support of free abortion on demand. As a member of the NDP and as an individual, I feel that each person should have the right to govern what happens to their body. As far as child care centres are concerned, the provincial party policy states that, when in power, we will subsidize community-run day care centres. The party's position is that the child should not be the total responsibility of the mother: it is the responsibility of the rest of the family and the total community. The total community will ultimately realize the potential human resources of these children and as such has an obligation to them. Finally, the party also takes the position that there must be equal pay for equal work. Currently women are used to undercut the labor market and the employers are getting cheap labor paying women less. This injustice can no longer be tolerated.

Question: How does the NDP see the role of women in advertising?

Answer: In the provincial policy press release made earlier this week, the NDP stated: "In her job as homemaker, the woman is degraded by commercial culture and advertising which insults her intelligence". Women in this society are really regarded as consumer units and by objectifying their sexual roles they increase women's potential consumption of the product. This I am very much against.

Question: How does the Alberta New Democratic Party view the Royal Commission on the Status of Women report?

Answer: The impact of the report was felt across Canada and provincially we have stated that an NDP government would implement the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women report as they apply to Alberta.

Question: What effect do you think the NDP election campaign will have on the struggle for women's liberation here?

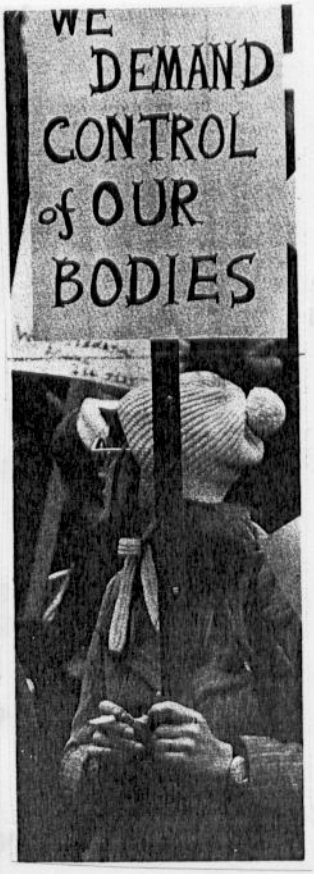
Answer: The NDP is proud of its effort to involve women. We are fielding a record number of female candidates in this election. In fielding a number of women and with the involvement of women in the campaign, the party can go a long way to spread the impact of the women's liberation movement. Women are putting out a women's perspective for the public to view and that means that the public is becoming more conscious of the women's struggle, the women's movement.

Question: Why do you think that the NDP's program for women's liberation is important?

Answer: In the socialist context, any advancement of the society or movement towards greater equality needs, of necessity, women's involvement. Without this you cannot possibly come to a socialist stage.

Question: What perspectives do you see for the NDP in relation to the women's movement?

Answer: In Manitoba and Saskatchewan where the NDP is in power, I think it would be an obligation for the party to bring to the floor of the Houses legislation that will bring about greater equality, supporting the demands of the women's liberation movement. In other provinces, where the party is in a minority, the party could demonstrate the unwillingness of the existing governments to bring about any change in the existing order, and to support women in their struggles.



The Struggle for Women's Rights in Europe –
Demand Repeal of Anti-abortion Laws

By Ross Dowson
(Reprinted in *Intercontinental Press*, SWP, New York)

[The following article, written after a four-and-a-half-month stay in Europe, is reprinted from the August 9 1971 issue of *Labor Challenge* , a revolutionary socialist biweekly published in Toronto.]

In those European countries where there is a developing struggle for the liberation of the oppressed majority, the main thrust of the movement is for the repeal of the antiabortion laws. The right to abortion on demand is the focal point in the conflict between the forces of the status quo and the rising forces for women's liberation in Europe, as it is on the North American continent.

The status of women varies widely across the European continent. The legal status of women in Spain is abysmal, even lower than it was in Quebec when the Catholic hierarchy was riding high and being vigorously utilized by the capitalist class to keep women occupied with children, church and kitchen. Spanish women are deprived of the most elementary democratic rights — they remain under the legal control of the family until twenty-five years of age, unless they marry — or join a religious order.

Before opening a bank account, obtaining a driver's license or a passport, holding a political office, or even taking a job — a married Spanish woman needs her husband's written consent. A man may put his wife's children up for adoption without her permission and take a child born out of wedlock away from its mother.

But even where women have achieved some democratic rights – even in some of the most advanced capitalist countries of Europe where there is a powerful labor and socialist movement — women have little or no control over their own bodies. The law bars women from access to abortion except under exceptional circumstances laid down by the state and implemented by the medical hierarchy.

This fact of the oppression of over half the population of the continent has been most dramatically brought to world attention by the actions of a group of Frenchwomen and a group of West German women this spring.

Early in April, 343 Frenchwomen, most of them prominent writers, actresses and TV personalities, as well as members of the Women's Liberation Movement of France and the Movement for Freedom of Abortion, made a sensational demand for free access to contraceptive methods and freedom of abortion — by signing a statement confessing to having had an abortion.

By this simple declaration, under the French abortion law, which has its origins in the Napoleonic Code, they were subject to two years in prison. Several hundred women have

been convicted every year under this law. Between 1924 and 1940 there were on an average 300 to 400 abortion convictions yearly. During the Vichy period this rose to 3,000 to 4,000 convictions, but today the number has fallen back to its prewar level. The overwhelming majority of those convicted are of course from lower income groups — too poor to take the abortion trains or planes to Geneva or London.

The French government has attempted to blunt the protest with concessions that sustain its main position. It has now conceded the sale of contraceptive devices in French pharmacies for the first time. It has also .authorized abortions — but only under special conditions — where the mother's life is endangered, where there is a certainty the future child would be abnormal, and where pregnancy is the result of a proven act of rape. Thus Frenchwomen still have no real control over their own bodies.

Even so the French Roman Catholic church hierarchy, aided by the National Council of the Order of Physicians, mobilized strong opposition to any liberalization of the laws. They were aided in this by the powerfully based and influential Communist party of France. A statement by the political bureau of the Communist party not only accepted the restrictions contained in the new government regulations, but explicitly rejected "theories which make the right of abortion one of the essential means of women's liberation. . . ." But the statement of the 343 Frenchwomen reads: "Free abortion on demand is not the ultimate goal of the struggle of women. On the contrary, it is only the most elementary demand, the demand without which the political struggle cannot even begin. . . ."

A campaign is well under way to force the repeal of antiabortion laws in West Germany where an estimated 400,000 illegal abortions are performed annually. These result in at least fifty deaths because of the conditions under which they are often performed. Thousands of German women who have the means now travel to London for the operation.

By the first week in June, 374 women had signed a public statement that they have had an illegal abortion and are therefore liable to imprisonment up to five years under Paragraph 218 of the Criminal Code. The campaign was given a special boost when twenty-four well-known West German women, among them actresses, journalists, singers, film stars and fashion models, had their pictures published on the front page of the June 2 issue of the weekly news magazine *Stern,* along with the confession: "We have had an abortion."

Legal proceedings have been opened against fourteen signers, including movie stars Romy Schneider and Vera Tschechova. In German jurisprudence, state attorneys have no choice but to open legal proceedings against suspected lawbreakers, even if they accuse themselves.

In 1969 there were 276 prosecutions under the law. A town councilor in Hanau has filed charges against Tschechova on the grounds that West German democracy will be discredited if "ordinary" women are prosecuted, "while prominent film stars are able to provocatively publish the details of their own abortions."

The movement to repeal Paragraph 218 encompasses such women's groups as Women's Action '70 in Frankfurt and the Socialist Women's League in West Berlin. According to *Der Spiegel* younger women members of the Social Democratic party and the Free Democratic party are joining the campaign.

The first action of the Movement for the Liberation of the Italian Woman, which held its initial national meeting this spring, is the promotion of a bill which would legalize abortions. Members are now trying to collect 50,000 signatures required to present a "vox populi" bill to the Italian parliament. Abortion is severely punished by laws supported by the Roman Catholic church but framed by the former fascist and openly racist regime. They appear under a section of the Criminal Code entitled "crimes against the integrity and health of the race." The Vatican's newspaper *L'Osservatore Romano* has denounced the movement.

A recent congress of Italian gynecologists stated that there were probably "between one and three million clandestine abortions" in Italy each year — others estimate four million. At least 20,000 Italian women die each year as the result of illegal abortions performed under outrageous conditions. This clandestine abortion racket is said to net its operators at least $82,000,000 a year.

Since the initiation of the signature campaign, three senators of the Socialist party have tabled a bill to legalize abortions. However their proposal would place the decision in the hands of the authorities to decide if the mother's health is endangered, if the fetus is likely to be abnormal, or in case of proven rape or incest — rather than in the hands of the woman herself who is defined by the women's liberation movement as "the manager of her maternity."

One might think that the Netherlands, despite the fact that it has the lowest percentage of working married women in Europe, is well along the road towards the elimination of antiabortion laws. It is sometimes depicted, along with the Scandinavian countries, to be in the vanguard, with its legalization of homosexuality, and its very colorful and active Dolle Mina movement.

Not so. Abortions are illegal in the Netherlands. The 175,000-strong Association for Sexual Reform has as one of its major activities the obtaining of abortions — in England. The association says that it is sending twenty to forty women a day on cut-rate abortion flights to England. Up to 3,000 women have gone through its services for an abortion there — at an inclusive price of $335.

(England)

With women of sufficient means going from all over the continent to England for abortions, it might appear that this question so crucial to women's liberation has been solved there by the legalization of abortion.

The four-year-old abortion act does not by any means grant a woman the right to make her own decision as to whether to have an abortion or not. The act evasively placed this crucial decision in the hands of the doctor, not the woman.

The 1967 law extended the right to abortion, allowing it upon the approval of two doctors for eugenic reasons (because of a deformed fetus), or if done to preserve the physical or mental health of the woman and her family.

The medical profession is against abortion on demand. Ninety-two percent of the consultants who answered the Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists survey, voted against it. Like the 47 percent of the RCOG consultants who want to exclude abortion on socioeconomic grounds, the British Medical Association from the outset has opposed the social clause which permits abortion on the grounds that the health of "existing children" of the family might be affected.

Many of the doctors opposing abortion on demand are consultants on the National Health Service and deprive women of the use of its facilities, which should be completely available to them.

As a director of the Birmingham Pregnancy Advisory Service, a charitable abortion agency, noted, hospital consultants form a self-appointed bottleneck to abortion. "They often impose their own morality on patients." In 1970, she noted, 12,000 women turned to the BPAS for help, nearly 55 percent referred by their family doctors who had either tried or recognized the futility of trying to obtain Health Service abortions on other than strong clinical grounds.

The result is that of the 90,000 abortions performed in England and Wales a year, only about 55 percent were obtained on the National Health Service.

The other 45 percent are carried out in the small number of tiny nursing homes that are approved by the Department of Health—the fifty-four private clinics that exist solely to make a profit. Since they cost from $200,000 to $300,000 to construct to-the department's standards, and doctors are prevented by the General Medical Council's strictures on advertising from getting the necessary clients, business interests operate them. The London Park View Clinic charges from $335 to $375 for an abortion, with doctor participants raking in fabulous incomes. The Langham Street Clinic made a gross income of almost $4,000,000 a year.

This vicious exploitation of women seeking abortion serves to embolden traditionalists, religious bigots and obscurantists who oppose abortion in principle. They have been mounting a campaign designed to (1) intimidate those doctors who defend abortion on demand and are prepared to sign in good faith that a woman needs an abortion, and (2) to cut out of the abortion act those sections that imply the legality of abortion on socioeconomic grounds.

June 20 saw some 8,000 persons march through the streets of Birmingham carrying

placards inscribed "Abortion Kills," to protest the abortion act. Speakers at the rally included Anglican and Roman Catholic church leaders and Muslim priests. Other organizations, including the Society for the Protection of Unborn Children and Life, are carrying on intensive activity against the right to abortion. This campaign is having considerable effect. According to the London *Times*, the Heath government is not licensing any more clinics because of the pressures of the antiabortion lobby.

Even in England, where despite the dollar sign that has been placed around them, there is greater availability of abortions than anywhere else in Europe, abortion on demand remains a challenging issue before the women's liberation movement.

(end)

Seven years of struggle to end the war

(Labor Challenge, August 1971)

by Carl Fleming and Joe Young

One of the most important revelations in the Pentagon Papers is the description of how the U.S. government's escalation plans were hampered at every turn by organized opposition to the war within the United States and throughout the world. Using bombing halts, "peace initiatives" negotiations in Paris and partial troop withdrawals, Washington attempted to undercut the antiwar sentiment. But through the independent actions of the antiwar movement, each new aggression was met with massive opposition.

While very much a part of the international struggle to end the war, the Canadian antiwar movement has a rich history of its own. No simple copy of the U.S. movement, for example, it has gone through many distinct upsurges, lulls, divisions and reunifications, reflecting the impact on Canada of events in Vietnam and around the world. Today antiwar protest in this country has become a mass movement, but a review of the issues which were posed in the course of the development of the movement provides many instructive lessons for antiwar activists today.

In one form or another, all the debates within the movement centered around the question of the right of the Vietnamese and Indochinese peoples to self-determination. The revolutionary socialists of the League for Socialist Action / Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière who have played a leading and initiating role in the antiwar movement maintain that self-determination for the Vietnamese means that the U.S. has no right whatsoever to be m Vietnam. Thus the central demand of the antiwar movement must be the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops. This withdrawal position was opposed by the Communist Party and pacifist elements who advocated "negotiations" to end the war. Their position clearly violated the principle of self-determination, that only the Vietnamese have the right to decide their own fate.

Those arguing for the withdrawal position also held that the other main demand of the antiwar movement must be for an end to the complicity of the Canadian government. The CP and pacifists tended to advocate a Canadian peace-keeping role, or at a minimum a neutralist stance by Ottawa — such positions undermined the very raison d'être for an antiwar movement in this country, cutting across the self- determination principle and fostering the illusion that Ottawa was either neutral in the war or could be easily won to such a position.

A related question, which has sparked continual controversy, involved the nature of the antiwar movement that had to be built — was it to be oriented to lobbying the government with friendly advice, or was it to aim to mobilize all those who opposed the war in peaceful mass action, in the streets and in collaboration with the international antiwar movement, particularly its center inside the United States?

Today the antiwar movement is in a strong position to widen itself out qualitatively, involving broad, new, and decisive layers of the population in its actions.

But the possibilities of this new stage in the struggle can only be fully exploited if the lessons of the experiences and debates of the early antiwar movement are understood.

First Protest

1964-65 saw the first large-scale escalation of the war in Vietnam. A small number of people began organizing actions against the war. The first task was to spread the truth about the aggression. There were a number of teach-ins on university campuses across Canada, following the example of hundreds of teach-ins in the U.S. In July, 1965, a demonstration of 100 delegates to the NDP federal convention marched to the U.S. consulate in Toronto, led by (BC-NDP) M.P. Bert Herridge.

Following the NDP convention, which passed a resolution opposing the war and calling for negotiations, the Committee of Concerned New Democrats came together in Toronto, forcing the NDP leadership into action. The Ontario NDP organized a public meeting in September, publicized as a "Report from Parliament" at which the featured speaker was Deputy Leader David Lewis. Lewis defended British Prime Minister Harold Wilson's support of the U.S. war, telling the audience that 'both sides' were to blame for the conflict, and that the greatest danger to peace in Southeast Asia was China. Lewis was roundly booed at this meeting, and rank and file NDPers saw that they themselves would have to act in opposition to the war.

Antiwar committees founded

Later that same month, antiwar forces came together in Toronto and Vancouver to form independent antiwar committees. Actions were organized in Toronto, Vancouver and Ottawa on the first International Days of Protest called by the U.S. protest-movement.

In November, 1965, Students Against the War in Vietnam (SAWV) was founded, uniting high school students in action against the war. SAWV carried a number of important actions over the years, publishing its own newspaper, organizing petition campaigns for Vietnam assemblies in the schools, and bringing thousands of high school students out to demonstrations.

In February 1966, a conference took place in Toronto, to discuss and plan future antiwar actions. Speakers at the conference were Farley Mowat, Prof. James Steele, Bert Herridge NDP M.P. And others. The conference launched the Toronto Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, (TCCEWV) uniting a wide range of forces including activists from the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, the New Democratic Youth, the Communist Party, a few church groups, and the League for Socialist Action, among others. The TCCEWV issued a call for a march on Ottawa.

Noticeably absent was the Student Union for Peace Action, a new-left student group which by then had decided not to participate in 'single-issue campaigns.' SUPA counterposed its strategy of community organizing around a wide variety of demands, to actions directly against the war. The new lefts failed to see the central importance of the Vietnam issue, defaulting also in their responsibility to aid the Vietnamese through building a mass movement in the streets, and open to all. SUPA's refusal to participate in the antiwar movement was one of the major reasons for its collapse.

Also abstaining from the TCCEWV was the NDP leadership, although a large number of rank and file New Democrats did take part. The NDY co-sponsored with the TCCEWV the March on Ottawa, the first major antiwar action to take place in Ottawa, which occurred on March 26. 1,200 people from Toronto and Southern Ontario traveled by special train to Ottawa to participate in a demonstration of 3,000 while 5,000 demonstrated in Vancouver.

After the March 26 action, representatives from committees across Ontario and Quebec met to discuss future plans. The meeting founded the *Canada Vietnam Newsletter,* which became the voice of the antiwar forces demanding immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops and an end to Canadian complicity. The CV *Newsletter* played an important role in winning the antiwar movement to those demands. It sponsored tours, organized antiwar actions, and provided a forum for debates and discussion within the movement. It was published regularly until 1969. The Vietnam Mobilization Committee's paper, *The Mobilizer.* plays a similar role today.

Attempts to exclude militants

By the end of the summer of 1966, a deep division had opened up within the antiwar movement. On the programmatic level, the debate was between those advocating "immediate withdrawal" and "end Canada's complicity," and the advocates of a varied list of other demands — negotiations, halting the bombing, reconstitution of the Geneva conference, etc. Also in question was whether the antiwar movement should seek to achieve the broadest possible unity of all forces by concentrating its fight totally against the war, or whether it should disperse its effectiveness by taking up other questions as well.

The debate was far from academic. The pro-negotiations forces, with the Communist Party and the pacifists at its core, succeeded temporarily in expelling the militant forces from the coordinating committees in Vancouver and Toronto. Unable to carry their position in honest, open debate, they resorted to arbitrary expulsions, which set back the struggle.

But the student and membership committees, which had been founded on the withdrawal demand, and were open to all, soon became the main antiwar force.

In November 1966 cross-country student actions demanded immediate withdrawal and an end to Canada's complicity. The expulsions had failed to stop the militant wing of the movement, which was readmitted back into the TCCEWV at a December conference.

In March of 1967, a cross-country student conference was held in Toronto, open to all students opposed to the war. All decisions were made on a one person, one vote basis. The conference established a new cross-Canada antiwar organization, the Student Association to End the War in Vietnam (SAEWV). SAEWV was committed to the mass action-withdrawal-complicity program.

Accompanying the SAEWV conference was an "Assembly to tell the truth about Vietnam", addressed by Dr. Gustavo Tolentino, a Toronto doctor just returned from North Vietnam where he had spent six weeks investigating U.S. war crimes for the Bertrand Russel International War Crimes Tribunal.

Canadian supporters of the Tribunal established a Canadian Committee for the War Crimes Tribunal.

Cross-country demonstrations occurred again on April 15, 1967. Ontario activists rented buses to go to the action of 500,000 in New York. On July 1, demonstrators from across Canada met in Montreal to "Take Vietnam to Expo". The NDP leadership and the Communist Party did not participate in the protest, because Quebec nationalists were marching under their own banners, calling for a free Vietnam and a free Quebec.

Exclusionism again became a major issue in the movement. At the Oct. 15 mobilization, involving 6,000 people in Toronto, TCCEWV organizers refused to allow Joe Young, chairman of the SAEWV, to address the rally. This incident. climaxed a series of battles against the exclusionist policy of the TCCEWV leaders, a policy which led to its collapse.

The deepening of antiwar sentiment stood as a backdrop to this internal struggle. Mass sentiment which had brought out the huge crowd in Toronto was most evident in the Ottawa action where NDP Leader T.C. Douglas addressed a demonstration on Parliament Hill in defiance of a government ban on such marches.

Picks up Steam

With U.S. imperialism steadily expanding the war, and with Canada's diplomatic and military complicity being brought more and more into public view, the antiwar movement began to pick up steam.

A conference in Toronto in March 1968 established the Spring Mobilization Committee, later to become the Vietnam Mobilization Committee. The conference had been preceded by months of sustained antiwar activity. In December the second

SAEWV conference had launched a campaign against the warmakers on campus. There were actions on many campuses against the presence of recruiters from war industries.

The SMC and SAEWV organized a demonstration against the ruling Liberal Party at its leadership convention in Ottawa April 6, demanding that the newly elected leader — Trudeau — end Canada's complicity. 1500 demonstrated.

A number of forces refused to support the action, raising a new dispute. This was not unexpected, for the ability of the| Canadian antiwar forces to build a movement which was directed not only against the war, but also against the government's complicity, was crucial. The slogan "end Canada's complicity" was attacked from both the right and the left. On the right, the Communist Party, the pacifists and others accepted Trudeau's claims that the Canadian government could help bring peace to Vietnam, through international peacekeeping, a concept also then current among the reformist leadership of the NDP. On the left, the ultra-lefts, largely influenced by the Maoists, maintained that Canadian complicity was irrelevant. U.S. imperialism was the issue and the main enemy.

Both positions let the Canadian ruling class — which has continued to serve U.S. imperialism in its attempt to halt the Vietnamese revolution — off the hook.

During the following April 25 country- wide demonstrations, the ultra-left forces counterposed demands like "Victory to the NLF" and "Smash U.S. imperialism" to the demand for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops. Whereas the negotiations position still carried by elements in the antiwar movement would have violated the rights of the Vietnamese, the ultraleft position put forward by groups like "Canadians for the National Liberation Front," would have been equally disastrous, destroying the ability of the antiwar movement to mobilize Canadians in mass action in support of the Vietnamese struggle.

Neither the reformist nor the ultraleft positions succeeded in deflecting the antiwar movement from its principled course. The Vietnam Mobilization Committee initiated a cross-Canada intervention by the antiwar movement in the 1968 Federal elections, calling on Canadians to "Vote Against the War Parties". An October 26, 1968 demonstration organized by the VMC carried a hard-fought campaign for the right to march down Yonge Street in the face of a brutal police attack which resulted in the arrest of antiwar activists.

Lines Tested in Action

The success of the VMC with its non-exclusionist, mass action perspective around the 'immediate withdrawal' and 'end Canada's complicity' demands meant that the debts were being settled in life, through the experience of the movement. In early 1969 those who previously held the negotiations positions re-entered the VMC which they had previously walked out of. The 10,000-strong demonstration in Toronto was the largest in the history of the antiwar movement.

In Vancouver, a similar test over line took place, this time between the ultra-left wing and the rest of the antiwar movement. The single-issue mass action perspective of the Vietnam Action Committee drew 3,000 persons while the ultra-left action billed as 'explicitly' anti-imperialist drew 400.

In the months following these demonstrations, the antiwar movement has succeeded in expanding into new areas across the country, reflecting the upsurge of antiwar sentiment throughout North America. In the Nov. 14-15 actions, 20 Canadian cities and towns were involved.

The antiwar movement zeroed in powerfully on the issue of Canadian complicity. On April 18, 1970, 2,000 demonstrators presented a brief to the Canadian government spelling out exactly what Canadian complicity meant. Trudeau refused to hear the brief. The rally was addressed by David Lewis, as an official representative of the NDP caucus. This time he demanded immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops and an end to Canada's complicity. Lewis' statement represented an important victory for the antiwar forces which had fought for years for NDP participation in the antiwar movement.

The response to Nixon's invasion of Cambodia was a strong indication of the growing roots of the antiwar movement. For example on May 9th in Toronto, 10,000 demonstrated at the U.S. consulate.

The invocation of the War Measures Act by Trudeau on Oct. 16, 1970, in the middle of preparations for the October 30-31 mobilization was an important test for the antiwar movement. The VMC called for repeal of the War Measures Act. Despite the repressive atmosphere which reduced the size of the demonstrations, they were held across the country, sharply reasserting Canadians' basic rights to gather and to demonstrate.

During the last mobilization April 24-25, a sharp rise in antiwar sentiment reflected in the 800,000 that marched in the United States, along with the diminishing impact of the War Measures and Public Order Acts resulted in 8,000 demonstrating in 15 cities across Canada. The NDP Federal convention adjourned to join the Ottawa section of the mobilization.

At this date, after years of struggle against the war, and with important struggles yet ahead, the Canadian antiwar movement has become part of the political fabric of the country. The principled demands of the movement — that the U.S. get out of Vietnam now, and that Ottawa's complicity be ended, are part of the policy of Canada's labor party, the NDP. The two-million strong Canadian Labor Congress has spoken out against the war. Through Committees across the country the antiwar message can be brought to every university and high school, office and factory. Trudeau hardly goes anywhere in Canada without being confronted by the antiwar movement with his government's crimes in Vietnam.

The Aug. 6 cross-country antiwar conference reflects this achievement — the first such Canada-wide antiwar conference. The revelations of the Pentagon Papers which show the Canadian government's conscious and premeditated role supporting the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, underline both the possibilities and the task ahead for the antiwar movement.

The perspective was summed up by the VMC in a recent statement on the revelations.

It declared that the VMC "is committed to mobilizing public sentiment in mass peaceful action to get Canada off the International Control Commission; to force the government to open all its files concerning its role in Indochina; to halt arms shipments and war materials to the United States; to end the complicity of Canadian universities in the U.S. war machine; to end Canadian research into chemical and biological warfare and to force a government pledge to refuse to send any so-called 'peace-keeping' troops to Indochina and a government demand for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops — all of them — from South East Asia now."

The organization of mass actions this fall when the U.S. antiwar movement takes to the streets again around this program is the task of antiwar activists. It will mean that the broad response reflected in the sponsorship of the Aug. 6-7 antiwar conference will be translated into a mobilization which can deepen the process of forcing the Canadian ruling class to end its support for U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam.

(end)

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Socialist parley a huge success

MONTREAL — The Conference d'Education Socialiste held in Montreal surpassed the anticipations of its sponsors, the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere and the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes.

Over 80 persons registered to participate in 2, 3, or all of the activities held over the July 30-31 and August 1st weekend.

The sessions opened with a very well-attended and certainly lively forum on How to Win a French Quebec. The speakers were Mona-Josec Gagnon of the Quebec Federation of Labor, Manon Leger of the LJS/LSO, and Raymond Lemieux of the Ligue pour l'Integration Scolaire, which led the 1968-69 struggle to defend the French language.

In his opening comments Lemieux expressed a "special pleasure in speaking once again at the Forum Socialiste". The LSO and the LJS, he said, "were among the first if not the first group on the left to rally to the aid of the French unilingualist movement and in a very substantial way."

But perhaps the highlight of all the sessions was the address of Alain Beiner, organizer of the LJS on The Way Forward Towards Independence. In a lucid, vigorous yet profoundly penetrating way he summed up the conference on Sunday evening. He showed how the struggle for an independent Quebec could only be realized by moving onto a socialist plane; he analyzed all the political currents from the bourgeois nationalists, to the petty bourgeois Parti Quebecois, through to the FLQ and the Maoists, ending with an outline of the program and character of the LSO LJS and an appeal to build this liberatory movement.

Colleen Levis made a penetrating contribution in her address on the Dynamics of the Women's Liberation Movement. With the inability of the Ligue Communiste of France speaker to arrive in time to participate, Ross Dowson, executive secretary of the LSA/LSO, made the contribution on The Strategy for the World Revolution.

Photo by White

Manon Leger

Perhaps the most stimulating sessions was the one led off by Dena Blumenthal on The Nationalist Movement and the Role of the Anglophone Quebecois. This wide-ranging discussion will no doubt provide material for a clearer definition of the attitude that the Quebec independence movement should adopt to win the support of the 40 percent of the population that is not Francophone, at the same time as it rallies its own forces.

The LJS of Hull, which has been conducting a big civil rights struggle there, came down in force to the Montreal conference — two sympathizers made the decision to join right then and there. The LSO LJS will shortly be making a big effort to sink roots right across Quebec.

labor Challenge #38 Aug 1971

Youth rally applauds Alta. NDP

by Bill Brown

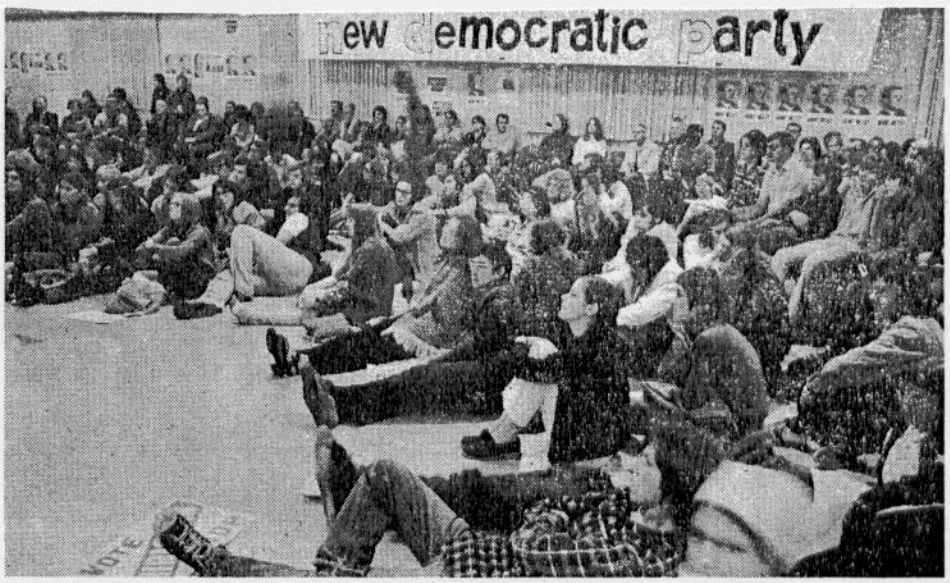
EDMONTON — About 350 people — mostly youth — turned out to an enthusiastic "Youth for the NDP" rally in the Sportex Youth Center Aug. 13. The meeting, one of the largest yet held in the Alberta NDP campaign, was organized by young supporters of the NDP. Larry Panych, a member of the Edmonton Young Socialists, chaired the rally.

The Young Socialists have played an important role cross-country in mobilizing support among youth for the NDP, as their recent activities in New Brunswick and Saskatchewan show. The YS supports the New Democratic Party as the party of the Canadian working people, which constitutes an important advance in the development of socialist consciousness by the working class.

Speakers at the rally included: Gordon Wright, president of the Alberta NDP; Linda Gaboury, candidate for the Edmonton Center riding; Tim Christian, Strathcona candidate; Ken Kerr, Jasper Place candidate, and Dave Barrett, B.C. NDP leader. Grant Notley, Alberta NDP leader, had been scheduled to speak but was unable to attend because of other campaign demands.

Wright opened his speech by denouncing the police violence at the Vancouver police riot Aug. 7, comparing it with the repression in Quebec during the period of the War Measures Act. This kind of violence, he pointed out, was the same type of thing Nixon was doing in Vietnam — repressing a people for the benefit of the capitalists.

Wright condemned the rip-off of resources taking place in Alberta and called for the establishment of a Crown corporation to develop the province's resources.



YOUTH FOR NDP. 300 attended Edmonton rally in support of NDP campaign.

Two important themes of the rally were women's liberation and the needs of the student youth. Linda Gaboury called for free 24-hour a day child care centers, repeal of the abortion laws, and equal pay for equal work. Tim Christian, former president of the University of Alberta Students Union, called for student control of the educational systems, pointing out that they are now being run for the benefit of a very small minority.

B.C. NDP leader Dave Barrett brought the solidarity of the cross-Canada NDP to the rally. He disposed of the often-posed question — how would the NDP get the money to pay for its social program? "I'll tell you — it's right here in the ground." He called for a drastic increase in the royalties paid by the oil companies (now just 12½ percent), but failed to pose their nationalization.

Somewhat out of tune with the rally, Barrett took a swipe at the Waffle, the "Trotskyists", and the Reform Caucus in the Canadian Labor Congress for being "good on policy debates, but short on action." The meeting itself, primarily organized by Young Socialists and Waffle supporters, refuted Barrett's claim. The rally organizers distributed 18,000 leaflets and put up 600 posters throughout the city, carrying the action with only five days preparation. The Waffle in Alberta is providing the campaign with several of the candidates and a good deal of the enthusiasm and hard work.

The youthful composition of the rally also showed up in the favourable responses speakers received to their comments about the Waffle's importance in building the NDP and to the more radical aspects of the party program.

The "Youth for the NDP" rally, however, does not typify the province-wide campaign being led by Grant Notley. Notley has placed his stress not on the problems in the urban areas, nor those of the youth, but largely on farm policy. He has limited much of the NDP campaign effort to rural ridings, although more than one-third of the seats are from Calgary and Edmonton.

But the NDP, which will be running in about 70 of the 75 ridings, has the opportunity to pose itself as a serious alternative to the "Tory twins" - the Social Credit and Conservative parties.

Certainly the mood of the youth is shifting towards support for the NDP and opposition to capitalism — as the "Youth for the NDP" rally indicates. Half the participants in the rally — 151 — bought copies of Labor Challenge.

A lot of youth who hadn't been involved in the campaign are now getting involved, pointing the way to how the NDP can grow and seriously challenge the boss parties for power.

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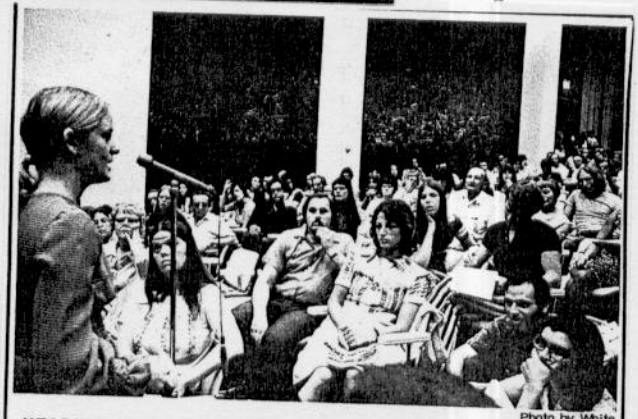

Photo by White

HEARING CASE FOR ABORTION. Over 500 attended debate. Speaking from audience is Jacquie Henderson.

500 at debate

The right to abortion

On Aug. 9 over 500 persons packed a hall at the University of Toronto to hear a panel of five debate the question of abortion. Organized by Summer at Humber College, a provincially-funded youth program, the panel included Dr. Barry Brown and Dr. Dawne Jubb of the Right to Life Committee, Larry Solway, radio broadcaster, Harris Weinberg, lawyer, and Lorna Grant of the Toronto Women's Caucus.

The anti-abortionists Brown and Jubb argued that the fetus is human life and should not be killed. Since abortion is equivalent to killing, according to Brown, the whole legal system is threatened by the repeal of the laws.

Solway and Weinberg both supported the right of a woman to abortion, the latter pointing out the appalling lack of facilities available for abortion in Toronto.

The overwhelming majority of those who spoke during the lively discussion period supported a woman's right to choose whether she will have an abortion or not.

This debate reflected the growing sentiment in favor of the repeal of the abortion laws and the possibilities for a broad campaign for repeal this fall.

The following is the initial speech presented by panelist Lorna Grant of the Toronto Women's Caucus.

This debate seems to be very concerned about human life. And that's what I want to see us all discussing tonight — human life, the lives of thousands of women who have faced and will continue to face unwanted pregnancies.

Before I get into my presentation I would like to comment on one thing. I find it very difficult, almost intolerable to sit here and debate whether or not women have a right to abortion while thousands of women are sitting at home right at this moment wondering whether or not they are pregnant, trying to decide what to do about it if they are. Each year in Canada there are approximately 100,000 illegal abortions, with 1,000 of these resulting in death or mutilation of the woman.

Why do so many women risk their lives in this way? They seek illegal abortions because it is the only course open to them, because under the present laws they have no choice whatsoever.

For years women have been under constant pressure to have children. Our culture tells us that we are not complete women unless we have children. We have been taught that our ultimate fulfillment is to be a wife and mother. We are NOT expected to make decisions about our lives, because, after all, the decisions have already been made for us. But this assumption overlooks one fact — that women are human beings, not pre-programmed machines — just as able and just as anxious to make decisions about our lives as the male sex.

Photo by White

LORNA GRANT defends abortion on demand.

If a woman cannot decide when and if to bear a child, any other decisions she may wish to make are irrelevant. In order to control our lives we must be in a position to control our bodies. Every woman must be able to demand an abortion if she chooses, the same as she would any other medical procedure. No one has the right to decide for her. No one is going to force an abortion on any woman who does not want one, but surely it is time for the government to end the situation which forces thousands of women to choose between giving birth to an unwanted child or undergoing the risks of an illegal abortion.

Abortion is often thought to be a hazardous proceedure. However, most medical experts agree that, when carried out by competent physicians in sterile conditions, it is a relatively safe procedure. In fact, according to Dr. Alan Guttmacher, in his book Birth Control and Love, abortion is ten times safer than carrying the pregnancy through to term. In Canada, abortion has been legal under certain conditions for only a short period — but in some Eastern European countries abortion on demand has been legal for some time.

Czechoslovakia has reported 140,000 consecutive abortions without a single death. Hungary reports 2.5 deaths per 100,000. Compare this with the mortality rate for, say, tonsellectomies in the United States, which is 17 per 100,000. Abortion is one of the safest medical procedures.

Now we come to the question of the morality of abortion — is abortion murder? The morality of abortion is a pretty abstract thing to a woman who is pregnant and wondering what she is going to do about it, but nevertheless it has been raised by some members of this panel. Just let me pose a couple of questions to everyone here.

When you eat a fried egg do you comment on how good the chicken tasted? Or when you see a squirrel carrying an acorn in its mouth do you wonder how such a tiny animal can carry an oak tree? I would doubt it. An egg is not a chicken — an acorn is not an oak tree — and a fetus is not a human being. But a woman is! Life is a question of probability and chance for the fetus. But a woman's life is real and actual. It is absolutely absurd to equate the rights of a pregnant woman to the rights of a fetus.

It is very easy to over-react to the emotion-laden word "murder," but murder does indeed take place — the

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Velvet Fist

Current issue includes extensive report on abortion debate and campaign for repeal of abortion laws; also features articles on socialization of women.

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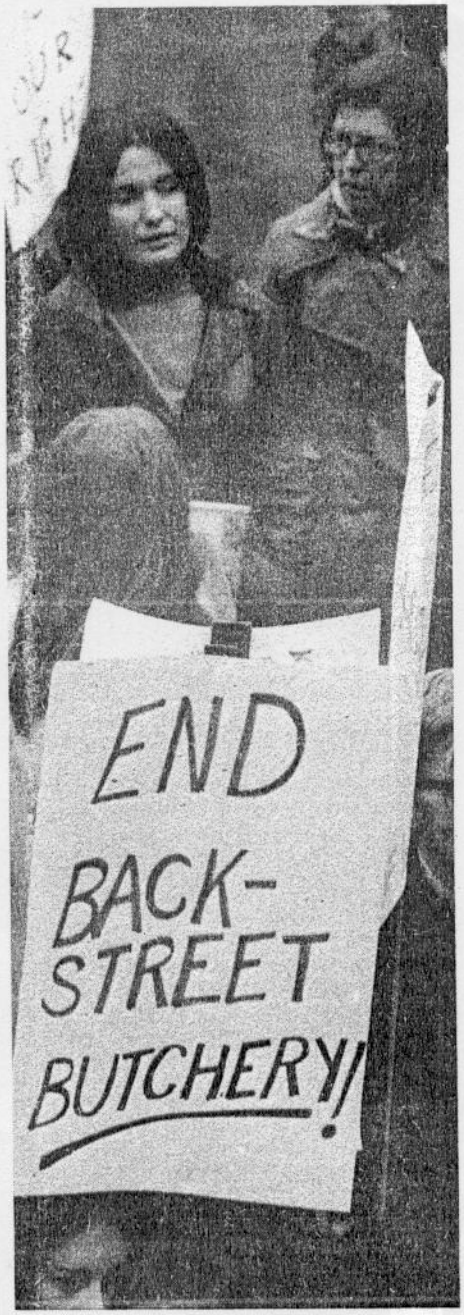
murder of women. Now just who is responsible for these murders that take place? Who are the criminals? We have the petty criminals like the backroom abortionists, and the rest who profit from the present abortion laws and the misery of women with no where else to go.

Then we have the big-time criminals like Trudeau and his government, who have been promising an abortion debate for three years and callously ignore the fact that women have died from abortions in those three years. Then we have the provincial governments who keep passing the buck, and we have the hospital boards who tie women seeking abortion up in red tape for two months and then say no, or who stall around until it is too late to perform a safe abortion. And finally we have all those who oppose a woman's right to decide for herself.



So just who is committing a crime — is it the woman who has excercised her right to choose or is it those who try to impose their philosophical and religious standards on her?

I have been appalled, but not too surprised at the number of people who have absolutely refused to recognize that an abortion problem exists in real life, that women really are dying.

Perhaps they do not realize that, as I mentioned earlier, thousands of women every year are getting abortions, most of which are illegal under the present law. Women who can afford to travel abroad can get safe abortions carried out in sterile conditions. But those who cannot pay are being butchered, mutilated and tortured by people who are often quacks. Often well-intentioned neighbours attempt abortion with barbarous instruments such as coat hangers or detergent bleach. That is the situation that exists in real life. Those are the facts and they are not debatable. The only question that is left to answer now is what are you, all of you here doing about it?

The Canadian Medical Association, the United Church and many other traditionally conservative organizations have agreed that abortion should be a private matter between a woman and her doctor. The New Democratic Party also favors abortion law repeal and Grace MacInnis, the only woman in the House of Commons, has submitted a bill to Parliament favoring the removal of abortion from the criminal code. Most important, more and more women are asserting our right to decide for ourselves when and IF we will bear children.

This reveals a general change in womens' attitudes concerning our bodies and our sexual lives in general. We are protesting, refusing to bend to feelings of guilt and shame over our sexuality which society tries to instill in us from childhood in thousands of different and subtle ways.

We are proud to be women and we have faith in ourselves, and no one else, to bring about change for our benefit. We refuse to stand by any longer while women have their lives ended or destroyed by unwanted pregnancies or illegal abortions. In a society which is one of the most technically advanced in the world, this situation is intolerable. The abortion laws must be repealed immediately. A woman has the right to control her own body, by whatever means she may choose — it must be her decision.

Abortion coalitions formed

Meetings in Vancouver and Toronto Aug. 12 established coalitions of women's organizations to fight for repeal of the anti-abortion laws.

In Vancouver, B.C. Women for an Abortion Law Repeal Coalition was formed by representatives of 19 organizations, among them student women's liberation groups, the Status of Women Action and Coordinating Council, the Association for the Repeal of Canadian Abortion Laws (ARCAL), the National Black Coalition of Canada, Women's Liberation Alliance, United Church Women, the New Democratic Party and the NDP Committee on Women's Rights, and the Young Socialists and League for Socialist Action.

Among individuals attending the meeting was Grace MacInnis, MP, who is presently sponsoring a private members' bill for repeal of the criminal code restrictions on abortion.

The Ontario Women for an Abortion Law Repeal Coalition brings together such groups as ARCAL, Toronto Women's Caucus, Kitchener-Waterloo Women's Liberation, the Toronto and District Liberal Association, and the High School Birth Control Rights Campaign.

Both coalitions will be holding conferences in early October — Oct. 2 in Toronto, Oct. 2-3 in Vancouver — to plan major fall actions. The Vancouver conference, on the theme "Let Women Decide — Repeal All Abortion Laws Now", will include a public session open to men.

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Gay liberation activists denounce discrimination

by John Wilson

TORONTO — Some 60 people attended the Vanguard Forum here Aug. 13 to hear a discussion on the position of homosexual men and women as an oppressed minority in Canadian society and the development of the gay liberation movement in this city.

The forum began with brief contributions from a panel of four gay activists, George Hislop, director of the Community Homophile Association of Toronto (CHAT), Pat Murphy, an activist in CHAT, Cheri DiNovo of Toronto Gay Action (TGA), CHAT and the Toronto Women's Caucus and Brian Waite of the League for Socialist Action and TGA.

Chairman John Steele briefly outlined the Marxist analysis of sexual repression under capitalism centering on the role of the socially-enforced "norm" of the patriarchal, heterosexual, (supposedly) monogamous nuclear family denying to both women in general and homosexuals of both sexes the right to control of their own bodies and sexual expression.

Hislop described the development of the gay movement in Toronto beginning with the formation of the University of Toronto Homophile Association (UTHA) in 1969, followed shortly by formation of the York UHA and the spreading of the gay student movement to southern Ontario campuses. CHAT grew out of UTHA in Feb. 1970 after growing numbers of non-students attending meetings began to impinge on UTHA's character as a student organization. CHAT experienced remarkable growth with attendance peaking at 250 at one meeting this June.

Hislop also went into CHAT's role in providing a social center for gay people, its educational work in various social agencies, in particular legal aid for gay people victimized by the police. As well as outlining job and housing discrimination against gays, he described the outrageous entrapment techniques used by Toronto cops to victimize male homosexuals.

Murphy described the oppressive social situation of lesbians in Toronto who, in her experience, live mainly in surburbia and feel compelled to hid their sexuality because gay meeting places are male-dominated and provide few facilities for gay women. Female gays receive fewer legal hassles, but as women they are oppressed in a different way. The male chauvinist mentality fostered by society cannot conceive of a serious emotional and sexual relationship between two women.

DiNovo stressed the close relationship between women's liberation and gay liberation in that both challenge the role of the nuclear family which is a key economic and ideological prop of the capitalist system. Both also demonstrate that the repressive "norms," sex-roles and stereotypes are socially enforced, not biological. Most gay women have gone through a period of being "straight," and therefore still identify with demands such as repeal of the abortion laws, etc. Many in fact come to gay liberation through women's liberation.

Waite outlined how TGA grew out of the Activists' Caucus in CHAT, composed of people who felt that while CHAT's work was necessary and valuable it was essential that gays begin to publicly confront the institutions responsible for their oppression. The Parliament Hill demonstration in Ottawa Aug. 28 is an important first in this direction.

Demands being made on the federal government in the draft brief include: removal of the nebulous terms "gross indecency" and "indecent act" from the Criminal Code; a uniform age of consent; deletion of anti-gay clauses in the Immigration Act; the right of gays to equality in employment and promotion at all governmental levels; equal rights to child custody in divorce cases; all legal rights for gays that now exist for heterosexuals; and that public officials use their authority to combat negative attitudes and discrimination against homosexuals.

Waite described the dynamic of gay liberation as essentially anticapitalist and an integral part of the ongoing radicalization. As with women's liberation, reforms could be won on the basis of mass action but real and lasting sexual liberation could only be achieved through the replacement of capitalism with a socialist democracy.

The question and discussion period was vigorous and covered a wide range of topics.

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'FLQ' frame-up charges dropped

The Quebec government has dropped most of the remaining charges laid last fall under the War Measures Act. Thirty-four of the accused received the news Aug. 14 by registered mail — the only formal "announcement" the embarrassed Justice ministry could muster itself to make. The rest was a telling "no comment" from Premier Bourassa.

Both Trudeau and Quebec Justice Minister Choquette were conveniently out of the country. Pressed by reporters' questions, the latter's ministry finally issued a statement saying that the expiry of the Public Order Act made it difficult to continue judicial procedures.

No further charges are pending against three of the leading defendants — Michel Chartrand, Robert Lemieux, and Charles Gagnon. But Pierre Vallières, now seriously ill, still faces a charge of seditious conspiracy and Jacques Larue-Langlois is charged with assault and membership in the Front de Libération du Québec, even though the FLQ is no longer an illegal organization since the expiry of the Public Order Act.

The withdrawal of charges marks a further victory for the mass movement in both Quebec and English Canada that developed in opposition to these witch-hunt trials and the Trudeau government's repressive legislation. The governments concerned have been utterly incapable of sustaining their claims of "apprehended insurrection" last October. Five hundred were arrested, but most of them were later released. All five of 14 persons charged with seditious offenses who have come to trial have been acquitted. Six of the seven persons tried for membership in the FLQ have been acquitted.

As defense lawyer Bernard Mergler stated, "probably in every single one of the cases that has been dropped the accused would have been acquitted."

The Citizens' Commission of Inquiry into the War Measures Act, slated to hold its first press conference in Ottawa Aug. 19, now has before it the most damning indictment of all — the evidence of judicial conspiracy against democratic rights by Ottawa and Quebec City.

The slate is not yet clean. What about Côme Leblanc, behind bars for "promoting the aims of the FLQ" (he distributed leaflets outside a high school)? And François Mercier who was jailed in Granby for "membership in the FLQ"? What about the jail sentences for "contempt of court" meted out to Michel Chartrand and Jean Boisjoly when they protested the unjust proceedings?

The sentences against Leblanc and Mercier must be revoked. The contempt sentences must be reversed.

Drop all proceedings against Larue-Langlois and Vallieres. Compensate all those accused under this frameup legislation. Reveal the truth about the real conspiracy behind the October crisis — the conspiracy of Trudeau and Bourassa.

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Sask. Waffle holds strategy discussion

SASKATOON — More than 200 Saskatchewan supporters of the NDP's left-wing "Waffle" caucus attended the group's strategy conference at Fort Qu'Appelle July 30-Aug. 1. It was the first such conference since the election of the NDP government. Plenary sessions and workshops dealt with analysis of the recent election and its implications for the left.

Highlight of the conference was a public meeting, filmed by CBC, which reviewed the facts of pulp development under the former Liberal government. It was the Waffle group which in the main forced the issue of resource development to a prominent position in the NDP's election program. And, as MLA John Richards pointed out in addressing the meeting, the NDP's exposé of the Liberal government's scandalous subsidization of pulp developers Parsons and Whittemore was a major factor in the NDP's election victory.

In particular, the meeting focused on an agreement between Parsons and Whittemore and the Liberal government providing subsidization for the corporation's development of pulp at Dore Lake. A resolution demanding termination of the agreement without compensation to Parsons and Whittemore was unanimously passed.

The resolution also requested the new NDP government of Allan Blakeney to make public the state of negotiations with Parsons and Whittemore, and directed the Waffle steering committee to take the initiative in organizing meetings throughout the province in an effort to maintain the mobilization of public opinion against Parsons and Whittemore.

Since the conference, Blakeney has announced cancellation of the Dore Lake agreement, and negotiations are proceeding as to compensation, with the company threatening to go to the Supreme Court. The position of the government in terms of those negotiations can only be strengthened by continued mobilization of public opinion against the resource give-aways associated with pulp development. And the logic of such a campaign can only pose the nationalization of Parsons and Whittemore's other operation at Prince Albert.

In general the Waffle conference viewed the election of the NDP as posing no sharp turn in its strategical perspective. While one session of the conference focused on the role of Waffle MLAs in promoting the campaigns of the Waffle wing of the party,

John Richards

the general orientation of the group will remain grass-roots organizing, work through the constituency organizations and the promotion of Waffle study and action groups on the local level.

Unfortunately, strategy discussion at the conference tended to remain at the most general level, and only on the last afternoon did participants consider concrete proposals for action arising out of workshops. And time did not permit their elaboration into an overall strategy or scheme of organizational priorities. The steering committee failed to provide leadership in this respect.

But alongside the campaign on pulp development, the farm question is likely to remain a major focus of Waffle activity. In particular, a proposal was adopted by the conference to proceed with a campaign for crown land assembly, designed to promote security of tenure for small farmers. The NDP's election program promised the formation of a "land bank" commission, but the terms of the scheme have never been elaborated.

Perhaps one of the most serious failings of the conference was its almost complete lack of attention to the women's movement. Shaping up this area of the Waffle's work will be left to a Waffle women's conference in September.

A militant labor program

(From *Labor Challenge* August 1971)

The following are extensive excerpts from "A Program for Labor" published by the Rank and File Trade Union Committee. The committee, established In March 1971, is a group of trade union militants, including a few local presidents, shop stewards, etc. who came together informally to discuss strategy in a strike struggle in the Toronto area.

"Our chief concern," they declare in their statement of purpose, "is that the union movement has, over the years, become less and less responsive to the real needs of the rank and file. Instead of providing inspiration and real leadership to the ranks, the union heads have become a buffer between the ranks and management . . . They pass themselves off as a substitute for union militancy and rank and file solidarity. The dangers inherent in this falsehood have never been more apparent than in the past year, as thousands of workers face plant closures and wage freezes In the face of continuing inflation."

The Committee sees its task as "not to bypass the union movement, or to substitute the Committee for the unions," but rather to "build a fighting leadership around a program of action which can reverse the present atmosphere of defeat which has hit large and small unions alike."

The committee can be contacted at 62 Waterton Road, Weston, Ont. "A Program for Labor" begins by noting the role of the Trudeau government In deliberately creating the present massive unemployment on the pretext that workers' wage demands are the major source of inflation.

* * *

Workers and their families are being forced to pay the cost of bringing inflation under control. Large and formerly powerful unions have been humbled as their bargaining power disappeared along with thousands of jobs. The giants of the labor movement — Rubber, Auto and Steel unions — have remained leaderless in the face of a series of plant closures and wage freezes. Trudeau's policy is working.

But are the unions really responsible for inflation?

To this question we give a categorical NO! The employers and the federal government must assume full responsibility. The biggest single cause of inflation, admitted by many established economists, is the criminal war being waged in Vietnam against an entire people. The "military-industrial complex," which President Eisenhower warned the nation about as he returned to private life, is the only benefactor in this criminal adventure.

The mechanisms causing inflation are complex, but it is not difficult to understand the nature of the main forces that are "heating" up the economy. Massive quantities of napalm, aviation fuel, aircraft, guns, etc. are produced, as all other products are produced,

by workers earning wages. The difference is that war material does not enter the market to be purchased by the wage earner, but is destroyed, as the Vietnamese peasants can vouch for. However, the wages earned by workers in plants producing war materials create a "demand" for goods and services. Also, the enormous profits taken by those "merchants of death"' cause increased demand for capital equipment. Thus we have "too much money chasing too few goods," as the economists say, which leads to an endless devaluation of the money currency.

Faced with this problem, not of our making or choice, working people through their unions have been caught up in an endless struggle to keep pace with the resulting rise in living costs. For the past 25 years, this has been a major preoccupation of the union movement. Far from causing inflation, working men and women are its victims. The corporations, on the other hand, have grown fat and arrogant in this period of capitalist boom.

Many corporate giants have been created by the endless and massive war contracts awarded by the U.S. government. Canadian corporations and branch plants of U.S. corporations have shared in the spoils. In fact, the Canadian economy has become closely integrated with the U.S. economy. Well over half of all Canadian industry is owned or controlled by multinational corporations, mostly based in the United States. Canadian business cycles, interest rates, inflation etc. are in step with similar trends in the U.S. economy.

The "industrial-military complex" which rules in the U.S. is constantly on the prowl for new sources of raw material to replace what is being so criminally destroyed in the ruthless "search and destroy" operations against the Vietnamese peasants. This explains the demand by Washington for a "continental energy policy," and the de facto takeover of the Canadian economy by branch-plant operations of a profit-hungry and resources-hungry complex of giant international corporations.

The arrogance of these corporations knows no limits. They are now so powerful that they play with their branch-plant operations as if they were pawns in an international chess game. They close one plant here and open another one there. All this in order to maximize the profits of their world-wide operations. Workers too are pawns in their world-wide search for profits.

The ranks of the union movement in this country must demand of our leaders that they call a halt to this farce. Tell it like it is! We are taking the blinkers off. WE REJECT, CATEGORICALLY, ANY RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE PRESENT CRISIS OF THE ECONOMY. What is more, we do not intend to submit passively when the bill for the cost of the crisis is submitted to us. All of the wealth in this country is produced by us, through our mental and physical efforts, but we are expected to go begging on bended knee when production slows down. . .

How then are we to join battle? We must fight the employers on the picket lines, yes! But the strength of organized workers in a given plant is not very great to say the least if

the boss pulls the plant from underneath them. Such a struggle can be won only if the union movement as a whole, through the various levels of leadership, involves the entire movement. It must encompass not only the unions on a community and regional basis, but also the political arm of labor, the New Democratic Party. This is an urgent and real need. It is not something for the future, but for the immediate period ahead, as the corporations put the boots to us, one plant at a time.

There is already a tragically long list of defeats for the union movement, and the list is growing. Each pronouncement of a plant closure, or demand for wage-freeze on pain of closure or mass lay-off, has added to the deep feeling of helplessness and defeat as our leaders confine **their protest**</b? to submitting "briefs" or at best issuing aggrieved statements that they "were not consulted" instead of rallying the trade union movement to its own defence.

If we sound angry, it is because we are. Not only do we reject any responsibility for the present crisis, BUT WE WILL NO LONGER SIT BACK WHILE OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS ARE FORCED TO PAY THE PRICE FOR A SITUATION BROUGHT ABOUT BY THOSE WHO PROFIT FROM THE SYSTEM.

If we have produced more goods than we can use, then we have earned a welcome vacation with pay. Either this, or we should be working less hours per week. To the crisis of the bulging stock inventories, the answer of the unions must be: REDUCTION OF HOURS WITH NO REDUCTION IN PAY! 40 HOURS PAY FOR 30 HOURS WORK OR FOR A SLIDING SCALE OF HOURS BASED ON THE DEMAND FOR GOODS AND SERVICES! Labor as a whole must adopt and press for this reasonable demand — it must project its own alternative to the present crisis.

UPEN THE BOOKS — ALL THE BOOKS! if the corporations plead inability to pay. We have a right to know what happens to the goods we produce. This is a legitimate demand for the labor movement to raise on a national scale. Our leaders must raise this demand in the interests of the entire working community.

HOW, AND BY WHOM, AND IN WHOSE INTERESTS, ARE INVESTMENT POLICIES FOR THE NATION MADE? AN END TO ALL BUSINESS SECRETS! We need this information and more, if organized labor is to meet its full responsibility to the broader community.

NO MORE PLANT CLOSURES! We must not only raise this demand but we must be prepared to fight every closure with all the determination we are capable of. The job of organizing the mass-production industries some 30 years ago was a challenge, but it **was accomplished** after heroic struggle and daring tactics. Often factories had to be occupied by workers in order to prevent scab-herding by the employers. Similar tactics must be considered in order to prevent the dismantling of plants which rightfully belong to the community which built and made them profitable.

RE-OPEN THE PLANTS UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL! If the corporations persist in efforts to close the plants, we must demand that the plants become publicly owned. What is to be produced and production schedules could be determined by regional and national planning councils set up by the unions at various levels. All sectors of the working population should have a voice and vote in the decisions made by these councils. This would indeed give meaning to "participatory democracy."

AN END TO WAGE FREEZES! Inflation is still a serious problem for workers and their families. We have no control over inflation. We must have the power to bargain for higher wages to offset the effects of inflation on our pay, and to increase our wages above this level as automation increases productivity. Only in this way can automation become a benefit to working people instead of a threat.

However, we have no bargaining power if a plant is threatened with closure. For this reason **the unions must call regional and national conferences to seriously discuss an effective program to fight closures and threatened closures.**

FOR A MILITANT MASS STRUGGLE PROGRAM TO FIGHT PLANT CLOSURES, WAGE FREEZES, MASS LAY-OFFS AND UNEMPLOYMENT! Rally the entire labor movement in defense of workers' rights! Rally the broader community and end the defeats now!

In order to assure success, the struggle must be carried beyond the arena of the trade unions and into the political arena. The corporations who wield economic power have not left political power to chance — their interests are represented by the government now in power. Organized labor has already recognized this fact by joining forces with others in the community to form the New Democratic Party.

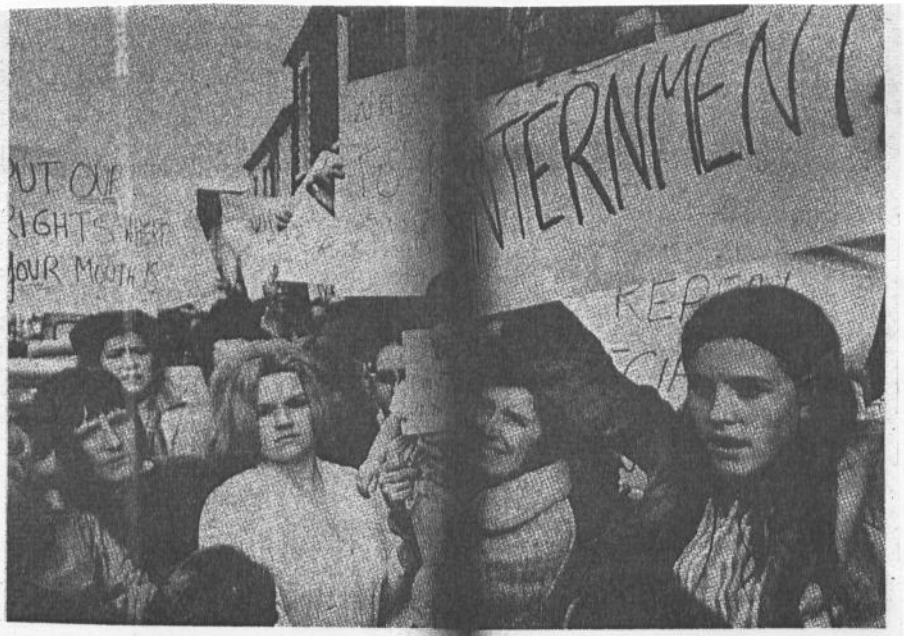
Unfortunately, many workers still support either the Liberals, Conservatives or Social Credit, all of which are controlled by the corporations who control the economy. For those unions that are now affiliated to the NDP, this affiliation must be made meaningful. The Political Action Committees must be active in the local unions and ensure that a full complement of delegates go to conventions of the party *(the NDP –ed.)* on both the provincial and federal levels. Where local unions are not affiliated PACs should be established and an educational program begun on the necessity for the local to affiliate to the NDP.

It is essential that the unions participate fully in the building of the NDP and work for its election to the various levels of government. Only by doing so can we be assured that the party, when it does come to power, will have a program which truly reflects the interests of the working people1 of this country.

This is an ambitious program, but it is a minimum one. It is a challenge to us all to give our best and to inspire others. A measure of our success will be the revitalizing of the entire labor movement.

labor Challenge #38 Aug. 1971

Irish mass resist British arm attack



PROTEST INTERNMENT. Women protest British military brutality in the Falls area of Belfast

REFUGEES FROM BRITISH TERROR. At Gormanston camp in Eire close to border, there are more than 1,600 of them, including 1,200 children.

Irish masses resist British army attack

(From Labor Challenge, August 1971)

by Phil Courneyeur

AUG. 16 — Over 7,000 refugees have fled Northern Ireland for Eire in the wake of violence and repression which erupted following the massive internments without trial carried out by the British Army Aug. 10. British troop strength has been beefed up to 12,500. Bloodshed has been worse than at any time since the 1930s. At least 23 persons have been killed.

The British army carried out the massive internments hoping to break the back of the burgeoning mass movement in the North. The Irish Republican Army (IRA) bore the brunt of the mass arrests — now over 270 according to official sources, of whom 230 are still being held. IRA sources indicate that many hundreds more have in fact been interned. Fifty-eight members of the Northern Irish civil rights organization Peoples Democracy are known to be behind bars.

The internment laws are similar in scope to the Canadian War Measures Act used against Quebec last October. Detainees can be held up to four weeks without a hearing or trial, at which time the government can move to intern them indefinitely. But while the repression in Quebec succeeded in temporarily crippling the mass movement, the internments in Ireland have sparked a mass explosion of resistance.

The *Financial Times* of London observed: "The gunmen are no longer a small minority... a large section of the working class population of Belfast and Londonderry is now involved to a greater or lesser extent in violent or semi-violent opposition" to the Government of Northern Ireland.

The *London Observer* of Aug. 15 reports: "They (the British Army) had expected that in any direct confrontations with the IRA, the more moderate Catholics would stand aside... but that is not what happened. From the first alarms on Monday, Catholics in the working class areas of Belfast and Londonderry were in the streets supporting the men the Army was out to arrest. Clearly many Catholics believed that with the rounding up of the IRA their defense against Protestant extremists would disappear."

A one-day general strike Aug. 16 to protest the British assault brought business and industry to a halt in many towns and cities throughout the North. It was supported by the majority of workers in Catholic areas. The strike had the support of Bernadette Devlin, a leader of Peoples Democracy and member of the Westminster parliament, who stated: "There are more members of the working class than there are members of the British Army. We have nothing to lose but the slavery and the chains which have bound us for hundreds of years."

Also on Aug. 16, the minority "Provisional" wing of the IRA announced it had set up an underground provisional government for Northern Ireland. Provisional leaders said an executive of six cabinet ministers had been formed and a parliament of 40 would meet in two weeks. The announcement was made at a secret press conference somewhere in the North.

The majority "Official" wing of the IRA, however, issued a statement in Dublin condemning as "mindless militarism" a decision by the Provisionals to begin a terrorist campaign in British cities.

The Provisionals, a terrorist-oriented ultra-Catholic tendency split with the Officials in 1969 around a program of confining the struggle to Northern Ireland. The Officials project a mass action struggle against the government of both the North and the 26-county South (Eire), to establish a united, democratic socialist republic of Ireland.

In their view the present struggle is essentially defensive — the British are trying to force an "abortive revolution," they say, to force the hands of the revolutionary and nationalist forces before the latter are in a position to win.

Most of the leaders of the IRA escaped the internment raids. Editorial thinking in several major British dailies points to the fiasco for Britain brought on by the internments. Far from breaking the mass movement it has exploded on every front.

Even the Lynch government in Dublin has been forced to respond to the crisis. In an August 13 statement, Prime Minister Lynch charged that "the Stormont regime, which has consistently repressed the non-Unionist population and bears the responsibility for recurring violence in the northern community, must be brought to an end." Lynch proposed a government in the North based on parity between Unionists and republicans.

Will the Irish working class go for Lynch's leadership? IRA leaders consider that the British are moving toward the establishment of direct rule in the North in order to facilitate the establishment of federal rule with Dublin; and they suspect that Dublin has accepted this so-called "political solution" which would continue the subjugation of Ireland to British imperialism.

The Irish struggle is inspiring working people throughout the world. With the exposure of the role of the British army, many thousands of British workers are how able to see the democratic and class nature of the Irish struggle and can be won to support the Irish right to self-determination.

The international defense of the Irish struggle is all the more important in the light of proposals that a UN peacekeeping mission be sent there. The role of the UN as an instrument of imperialist repression is well-known — the Koreans, the Congolese, and the Palestinians can testify to that.

There is only one solution to the crisis in Northern Ireland — self-determination. That means the withdrawal of British troops and the freeing of the political prisoners. Only then can the Irish people freely find their national destiny and choose the kind of society they wish to live in.

Strategy for Irish struggle

(From Labor Challenge, August 1971)

From Intercontinental Press

John Garland, author of the following article, was one of the most prominent leaders in the guerrilla campaign waged by the Irish Republican Army (IRA) against British rule in Northern Ireland 1956-1962, although he was a very young man at the time. He has recently been appointed National Organizer of the republican movement.

The "border campaign" that began in 1956 was abortive and disastrous in many respects for the Irish revolutionary vanguard. However, the republican tradition is deeply rooted in the history and reality of the country. Perhaps precisely because of this long tradition and the organizational continuity of the republican movement maintained by a devoted cadre, the survivors of the "physical force" campaigns of the 1950s were able to draw some deep-going conclusions from their experience. Some of these conclusions are expressed in Garland's article, the full text of which appears in the May issue of the United Irishman.

* * * *

The objective of any movement dictates or determines its activity, its work, its demands. It follows, therefore, that for a movement to be a revolutionary one, or aspire to be one, it must have a revolutionary objective.

For us of the Irish Republican Movement we have declared our revolutionary objective to be the establishment in Ireland of a Democratic Socialist Republic.

The most important instrument in the struggle for National Freedom and Socialism is a revolutionary movement and the most important task a revolutionary movement has is to organize the working class and their allies in order to win the Revolution.

At this point of time in our history as a Revolutionary Movement it must be accepted and understood that our Movement must have a national liberation and socialist character. In the past the Republican Movement through concentrating all its energies and resources on the question of national liberation alone, neglected the task of organizing the people in their everyday struggles. We left this most important task to those politicians who time after time sold the people out. We, for our part, confused popular sympathy for our cause, the freedom of Ireland, with popular support.

It was only when we were beaten to the wall and almost annihilated as a political force that the true meaning of revolution began to dawn on us. We know now, and have begun to organize ourselves on the correct lines, that in order to succeed we need and must have the active and mass support of the people. This support has to be won by helping the people to fight their immediate struggles for jobs, houses, lands and civil liberties and by explaining to people how all of these issues affecting their lives are connected with the nature of capitalism, the need for socialism and above all, gives them leadership in the fight for a revolutionary change.

The centuries old struggle of the Irish people to establish an independent nation is still, today, one of the most potent weapons in the revolutionary arsenal, is in fact the one single issue on which all Irishmen can come together. We must continue to insist on linking the question of national freedom with the question of social justice and socialism.

It is regrettable that we still have people in Ireland today, who have not learned from former experiences, who still insist that it is possible to achieve freedom with the weapons and instruments of former times. We have several distinct elements made up of some very sincere and dedicated people who follow this trend. Some on one hand are attempting to recreate the historical period of the twenties, attempting to translate the type of movement and the form of struggle that was partly successful in the twenties. This attempt to have the same in the seventies is doomed to failure.

Those other people who wish to impose 'freedom' on people, who form themselves into an elite without any contact or support from the mass of the people, those elements who make the question of shooting the central point of the struggle are going to find themselves isolated from the people and will surely fail, as other efforts of a similar nature failed in the past.

We must first recognize that physical force is a tactic and that despite all the errors, all the shortcomings over the years, the history of all successful revolutions proves that the road of armed struggle was and is the only correct one. What we learned and some didn't was that armed struggle on its own is doomed to failure, just as political action or demonstrations on their own are doomed to failure. Force must be linked with, must be integrated with, all the other forms of struggle, legal and illegal that are available to the movement.

We must understand that in all areas of revolutionary work it is often and less imperative to know what not to do as to what to do and how to do it. Such knowledge is acquired as the result of earlier trials and experiences and errors.

What had failed in the fifties and sixties was a tactic, not a strategy. What we had to do, and must continue doing, was to correct the tactic in the course of the struggle itself. Over the past few years we have begun to take this tactical turn, to correct our methods of struggle, to deepen and expand our political organization among the people. To begin to organize the people not for revolt, not for rebellion, not for insurrection but for revolution. A revolution that will change the entire political and social system in the country.

A point I would like to make here is that any revolutionary movement must base itself and their programme on its own people and their needs, the conditions in their own country. We have a lot to learn from many other countries in the world who have made a successful revolution or in some cases are like ourselves, trying to make a revolution.

The only hope the ruling class has is if it can isolate the revolutionary *(indivuals -- ed.)* completely from the rest of the people. That is why the number one task today for those revolutionaries who really want to change the system is to know how to reach people. We must build a movement of people who are aware and conscious of all the many avenues that are open to the movement; a movement with the realization that we need to get involved in and build on

these issues to that final confrontation with the forces of the establishment. This will be a long road but if we build our foundations on a conscious people we cannot but succeed.

One of the basic problems of revolutionary strategy today is this lack of class consciousness among the people of Ireland and elsewhere. We, as revolutionary socialist republicans do not believe that capitalist imperialism will suddenly collapse as a result of some miracle or inner contradictions. We don't believe that the task of revolutionaries is to sit on the sidelines and interpret current events hoping for some happening. We believe in the conscious intervention, in the key teaching role that struggle has and of the experience born from such struggles. We believe that it is only by trying to expand actual living working class struggles towards an incipient challenge against the authority of the employers and of the capitalist system, can a rise be achieved in working class consciousness. Only through such struggles can the workers build the actual organs through which they can tomorrow take over the administration of the economy and the State, freely elected workers' committees at factory or street level which will federate themselves afterwards locally, regionally, and then nationally. That is what the conquest of political power by the working class really means.

You cannot build a revolutionary movement without a revolutionary programme for, in fact, in time the programme will create the movement, but it is here that the role of conscious leadership enters into it, to save time.

To conclude, over the past five years many changes have taken place in the Republican Movement. During that time we have clarified our objective, we know where we want to go, we know what we must do, what action we must take in order to achieve this objective. We must continue to learn from the past and our experiences, but not allow ourselves to be bound or tied to the past. Above all, it must be borne in mind that whatever actions we engage in, housing agitations, land and fishery agitations, civil rights or cultural agitations, all are bound up with and must be linked with the fight for freedom and socialism, and that in all of these fights to establish the rights of the ordinary people there is a class fight. We must demonstrate to all the Irish people that our movement expresses the interests of that most exploited class, the working class, and that we have the programme and the policy, the aim to make that class victorious at last, in the long struggle for Freedom and Socialism.

LSA/LSO EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT
334 Queen Street W.
Toronto 133, Ontario

September 24, 1971.

To LSA/LSO branches and YS/LJS Locals:

Attention organizers:

Dear comrades,

The NDP report to the August 1971 Plenum of the LSA/LSO concluded with seven general points on our approach to Waffle work in the next period. The seventh point stated:

"Last but by no means least, we must create a new consciousness of the NDP in the LSA and the YS. The NDP is the most valuable mass action experience we can have. NDP politics are the politics of the class, where we confront all the major political issues and can popularize our entire program to the widest number of politicized workers. As a result, the NDP experience serves to "politicize" our own movement, sharpening the polemical abilities of comrades, increasing their awareness of political questions, and creating a more serious atmosphere around our movement...

"As a first step toward reorienting comrades and contacts toward the NDP we should increase the number of internal educationals and forums based on NDP issues. Above all, we must make intensive efforts, starting now, to recruit from the Waffle and the NDP."

We do not know to what extent branches and locals are focussing on the NDP and the labor party question in their forum and internal educationals. Educational directors and committees should think in terms of strengthening this side of educational work this fall and winter.

We now have available a considerable documentation of our Canadian experience with the labor party orientation. We have:

1) The Revolutionary Vanguard and the Labor Party, which contains: a) eight articles from the Trotskyist press between 1946 and 1961 dealing with our experience with the CCF and the founding of the NDP. b) "For Entry into the CCF, 1951 convention resolution. c)"The NDP Hardens", 1966 convention resolution. and c)"Our Work in the NDP", 1967 plenum resolution.

Price: @$0.60

2) Our Orientation to the New Democratic Party - As a Strategy and Its Tactical Application, by Ross Dowson. A submission to the 1970 LSA/LSO convention, available in the 1970 Convention Bulletin, @$1.25

3) The NDP and the Waffle, 1971 Summer plenum report. Available in the "Reports and Statements adopted by the 1971 Plenum of the Central Committee of the LSA-LSO, @$0.50

Other useful materials include:

-The Saskatchewan and Ontario 1971 Election supplements of Labour Challenge.
-Central Office statements on NDP work, particularly of June 23, 1971 on the Waffle.

-Pamphlets available are: Marx and Engels on the Labor Party.
Leon Trotsky on the Labor Party.
Left Wing Communism, by Lenin.

The educational department is planning to publish a study outline for classes on this material.

Comradely,

Phil Courneyeur
Educational Director.

Meaning of the new radicalization

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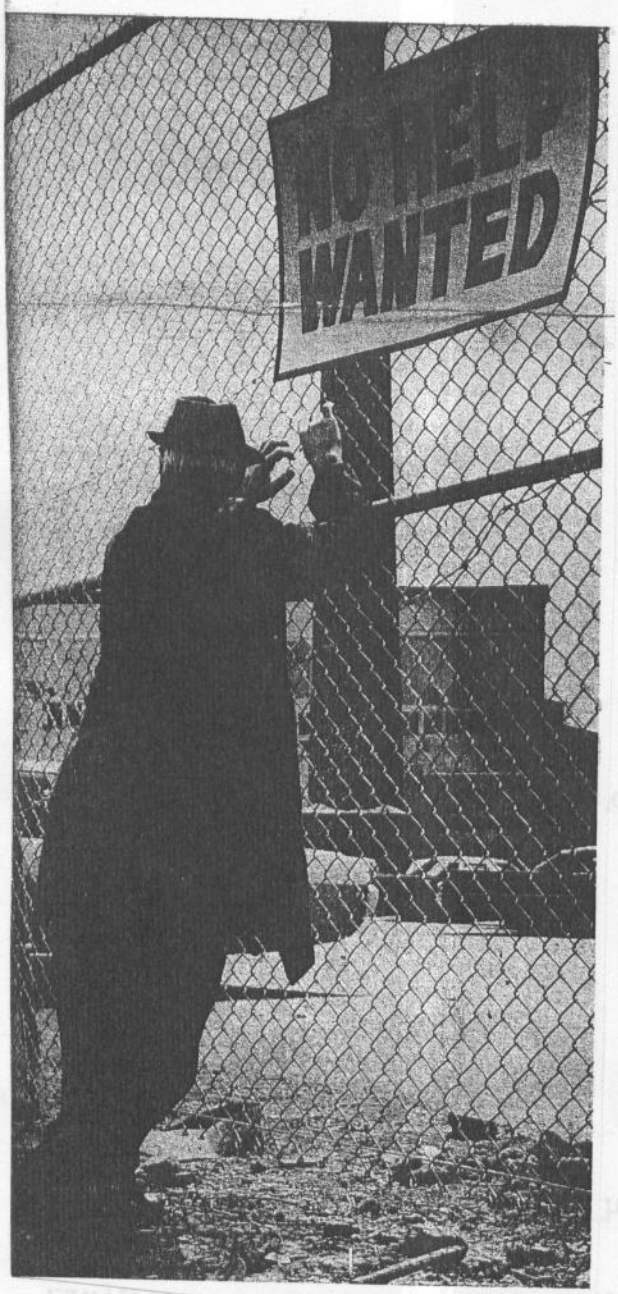
labor Challenge

Vol. 2, No. 17 (39) September 13, 1971 15 cents

Launch drive for 4,000 subscribers
page 3

End U.S. domination of Canada -lesson of Nixon's measures



by John Steele
and Dick Fidler

President Nixon's decision, announced suddenly Aug. 15, to freeze the wages of American workers and to slap a 10 percent surcharge on imports, has highlighted the enormous dangers inherent in Canada's extreme dependence on U.S. capitalism.

Nixon's "new economic policy" is aimed at shifting the growing difficulties of U.S. imperialism directly onto the backs of workers in the U.S. and around the world.

Coming after 25 years of U.S. hegemony over the world capitalist system, Nixon's decision reflects the deteriorating competitive position in world trade of American capitalism — registered in an excess of imports over exports that threatened to produce the first yearly balance-of-trade deficit since 1893.

For years, U.S. goods on the world market enjoyed a competitive advantage, despite the relatively high wages of U.S. workers, because U.S. productivity — the amount produced by the average worker in a given length of time — was much higher than that of its leading competitors. In recent years, however, that productivity gap has been narrowing. The U.S. market has been increasingly invaded by foreign-made goods, while U.S. products are being progressively squeezed out of foreign markets.

This worsening competitive position has been aggravated over the last five or six years by a severe inflation, primed by the Vietnam war,

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NIXON import surcharge will increase jobless rolls in Canada.

TRUDEAU responds by subsidizing corporation profits.

More unemployment result of U.S. move

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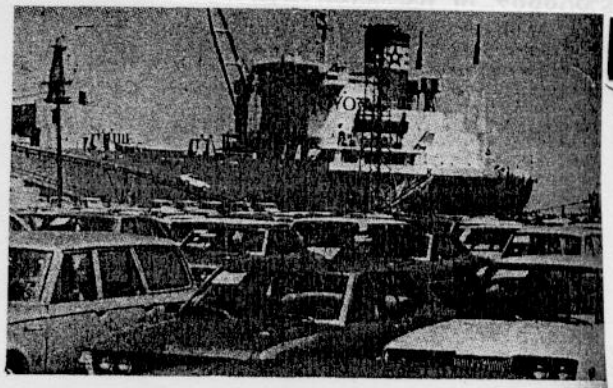

LOWER-PRICED IMPORTS flooding U.S. market are a major factor behind Nixon's moves. Above, Toyota automobiles being unloaded at Boston.

as successive Administrations have pumped billions into weapons and sustained massive government deficits — just when U.S. products were already slipping in international trade.

The weakness of the U.S. dollar was the reflection in international finance of the weakness of the U.S. economy in international trade. It was the expectation of a U.S. devaluation which this year had provoked a continuing crisis of the international monetary system.

Nixon has responded not by an actual devaluation of the dollar, but by a series of measures which amount to a de facto devaluation. This, coupled with the 10 percent surcharge, increases the prices of foreign goods relative to U.S. goods. It is, in effect, a threat to curtail the markets of foreign competitors or to force them to revalue their currencies, which in the long run has much the same effect. For example, a Toyota which sold for $2,000 in the United States before Nixon's moves would, given a 10 percent upward revaluation of the yen, sell for over $2,400.

Nixon is able to do this because, while the U.S. economy is slipping, it is still the most powerful economy among the leading See page 6

Continued from page 1

capitalist nations. As a result, the Japanese have had to free the yen to find its value in the world market.

Nixon's measures are intended to increase the competitive edge of U.S. corporations in world trade while continuing the war and war spending — and thus without ending the inflation. The day before Nixon's television address, Defense Secretary Melvin Laird announced that he would seek a three-billion dollar increase in the war budget, bringing it to $80 billion in 1972.

And while inflation continues, real wages are to go down, and unemployment in the United States is to be passed on to its competitors, including Canada, through the effects of the import surtax.

Hardest hit in the short-run by Nixon's measures was Japan, 96 percent of whose exports to the U.S. are affected by the import surcharge.

But Canada, much more dependent than even Japan on trade with the U.S., is bound to be severely affected. The U.S. market accounts for nearly 70 percent of Canada's exports — 12 billion dollars' worth last year. Owing to long-standing special relationships between Canadian and U.S. capital — resulting from the fact that over half of Canada's manufacturing is owned by U.S. businessmen — only an estimated 25 percent of those exports are directly subject to the 10 percent surcharge.

But that 25 percent is in manufacturing sectors already hard hit by the recent economic downturn. A sharp drop in Canadian sales to the U.S. of machinery, electrical apparatus, iron and steel products, etc. will aggravate an already high unemployment level, now at over 6.3 percent cross-country, with projected increased layoffs and plant closures. In the labor-intensive electrical products, supply and service industries alone, the jobs of 24,000 Canadian workers are reported to be in jeopardy.

In addition, and more ominous in the long term, Canadian manufacturing as a whole is bound to be imperilled by the worldwide trade offensive unleashed by Nixon. A decline in Canada's overall trade position will once again serve as a pretext for Canadian business and government to attempt to impose their own wage controls on Canadian workers. (Such an attempt last year was repulsed by organized labor.)

Within hours of Nixon's surprise announcement, a team of Canadian ministers and top-level functionaries was in Washington, begging "cap in hand" for exemption of Canadian products from the surtax. They got the cold shoulder. Despite the fact that Canada exports more than any other country to the United States, Washington didn't feel any compunction to even consult Canada on its decision, let alone make any concessions to its "Northern neighbor."

A major source of Canada's surplus balance is its massive export of natural resources — oil, gas, minerals and water — exploited at the expense of failing to develop a stronger manufacturing sector. Washington does not threaten to restrict these imports, however, primarily because of their strategic importance to the U.S. economy and military machine.

The very dependence of Canadian capitalism on the U.S. market guarantees the support of the Canadian ruling class for Nixon's measures. The Canadian capitalist class sees its fate inextricably linked to that of U.S. imperialism — to the strength and stability of the U.S. dollar.

The capitalist rulers of Canada have no answer to Nixon's assault on our jobs and living standards. All the proposals reportedly considered by the Trudeau cabinet — tax cuts to affected industries, a "price-wage" freeze, and direct subsidies — are designed to make the workers, who already pay the bulk of the taxes, pay the cost of capitalism's problems. If a wage freeze is rejected at present, it is largely because the capitalists fear its effect in strengthening support for the New Democratic party.

Trudeau's proposal to pay industry up to $80 million — and much more if the surtax is extended beyond the initial 90-day application — amounts to little more than a state guarantee of monopoly profits. And it is no guarantee that workers will not be laid off anyway as plants attempt to "rationalize" operations to fit the restricted export market.

NDP federal leader David Lewis has suggested that Ottawa start monitoring the behavior of U.S.-based corporations in Canada, to "ensure that decisions taken by their parent companies do not hamper Canada's economy."

But the present crisis demonstrates very clearly just how much Canada's economy is not merely "hampered," but distorted and mangled by U.S. capitalist domination.

What is needed is a class struggle program around which working people can organize to defend their standard of living. Ultimately, such a program must come to grips wit the necessity for Canada to break with U.S. imperialism, by ripping the

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Canadian economy out of the U.S. orbit through nationalization of Canada's key industries.

As a first step, the NDP and the labor movement must campaign for public ownership of any plant or industry in Canada — U.S.-owned or otherwise — which threatens to close as a result of Nixon's policies. Such plants should be operated under the control of the workers themselves.

As the crisis deepens, the Canadian ruling class will be more and more inclined to step up its offensive against labor. Already powerful voices, including that of Tory trade critic George Hees, have been raised in support of a wage freeze. Canadian Labor Congress president Donald Macdonald has promptly rejected wage freezes in Canada as "inequitable and unenforceable."

In fact, real wages — salaries balanced against rises in the cost of living — have practically stood still for the last decade, even without a wage freeze. Now, more than ever, labor must campaign for an escalator clause in every union contract — to tie wage increases automatically to increases in the cost-of-living as determined by union economists.

Nixon's measures — and their repercussions in Canada — demonstrate that North American workers, far from having benefited from the U.S. aggression against the Vietnamese revolution, are among its victims. Labor must be in the vanguard of the struggle to end the war, and Canada's complicity in U.S. aggression.

For many years, successive Canadian governments have bent strenuous efforts to encourage U.S. capital to invest in the exploitation and exportation of raw natural resources, without any corresponding attention to the development of a strong manufacturing industry oriented to the needs of Canadians and a diversified worldwide market. NDP leader David Lewis and some union leaders have suggested that Canada retaliate against Nixon's policies by applying a 10 percent surcharge on Canadian resources exports to the U.S., which very much wants these resources. This proposal must be linked to others that ensure the revenue so gained is used not to subsidize further superprofits for imperialist monopolies, but rather toward investment in government-owned manufacturing industry.

In addition, Canada must drastically increase its trade with those countries seeking to break out of the capitalist orbit. A major reorientation of Canada's trade ties is called for, to link this country with the planned economies of the workers states.

The struggle to defend our jobs and living standards is, in the last analysis, a struggle for a socialist Canada. Nixon's measures are a confession of the bankruptcy of the system he heads. The Trudeau government, tied to the fate of U.S. imperialism through a thousand economic chains, has also pleaded bankruptcy. The socialist solution, long rejected by the labor and NDP leadership, is more relevant than ever.

DEFYING NIXON'S WAGE FREEZE and appeal to end strikes, West Coast longshoremen continue to man picket lines.

Call a congress of labor - SWP

Linda Jenness, 1972 presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, blasted Nixon's wage freeze in a statement Aug. 24. Qualifying it as a "direct assault on the rights and living standards of the American working people," she stated that the U.S. labor movement should "call its own congress of labor to draft a program of action to fight the wage freeze."

Jenness pointed out that military spending on the war in Vietnam — not wages — is the chief cause of inflation.

She stated: "the wage freeze program of the Nixon administration was backed 100 percent by every prominent Democrat and Republican politician ... These parties can never represent the working people or any sector of the oppressed or exploited in this society."

A mass labor party must be formed to fight for the interests of the workers and all the oppressed, Jenness declared.

labor Challenge #39 Sept 1971

Socialist Conference

Waterloo, Aug. 20-25

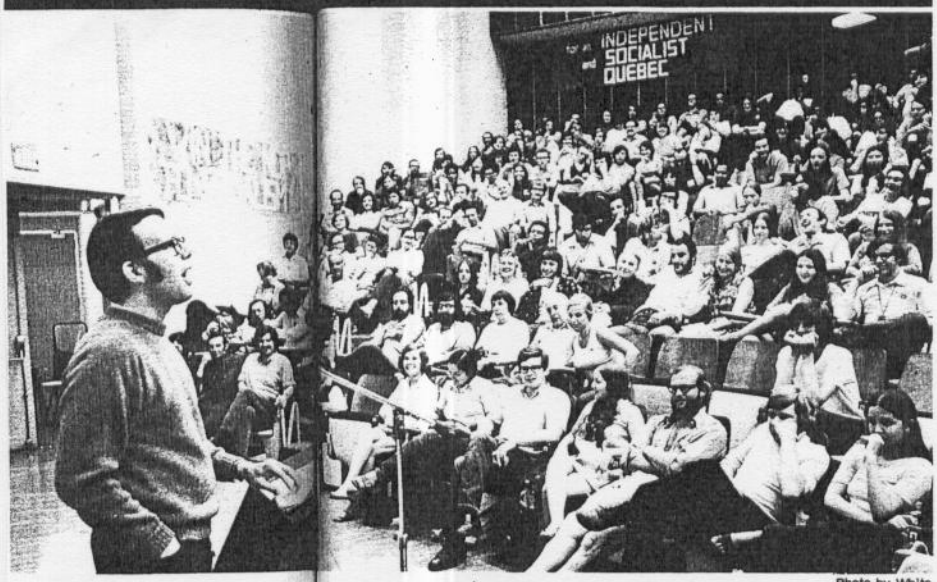

Photo by White

LAUNCH THEORETICAL MAGAZ highlights of conference was the raising of ch a quarterly journal of revolutionary to begin publication this winter. Above, Dick Fidler, managing editor of Labor Challenge, announces the new project.

They came from all over

The Waterloo Socialist Educational Conference registered a wide geographical representation from across Canada and Quebec. While most of the participants (254) came from Southern Ontario, B.C. and the Atlantic Provinces had strong delegations with 28 and 25 persons respectively. Alberta sent 15, Saskatchewan 15 and Manitoba seven.

The conference was built as a pan-Canadian project. Thirty-two persons came from Quebec, many of them leaders of the recent July 1 anti-confederation demonstration in Montreal. The conference functioned with simultaneous translation throughout. Classes on the Quebec Struggle took place in French. Manon Léger delivered a major address on "Quebec: Independence and Socialism."

Forty-five participants came from other countries.

The youthfulness of the conference set the tone. The average age was 25, with 73 persons in their teens. Young workers outnumbered the students; 60 per cent of those registered were workers, including 32 teachers, while 30 per cent were students.

Women made up 40 per cent of the conference.

Participants came from some 40 Canadian centers and brought with them their experiences as militants and leading activists in every mass movement in Canada today.

Activist panels popular feature

The activists came to Waterloo — not solely to discuss socialist and revolutionary theory, but to plan what to do next. Activist panels and workshops were a popular feature at Waterloo.

Women from across the country filled the room where the abortion repeal panel took place. Joan Newbigging of the LSA and Pam Dineen from the Toronto Women's Caucus; Mary Trew, a veteran of the cross-Canada abortion caravan now with the Vancouver Abortion Law Repeal Coalition; Linda Blackwood, spokeswoman for the Winnipeg Abortion Action Committee; and Colleen Levis of the Montreal Women's Action Movement — all brought to the panel the most recent experiences and projected actions of their groups, working out a strategy for victory for abortion repeal.

Other workshops: on trade union activity; the anti-war movement; the student movement; the high school movement; focussed the attention of the conference on the major fall campaigns and activities.

Guest speakers in workshop panels included Wayne Roberts, vice-president of the Ontario Housing Tenants Association and author of "High Rise, Arise: The Low-down on Tenant Organizing," speaking on tenant organization; and Khurshed Wadud of the Bangla Desh Association of Canada speaking on the independence struggle of his people. The workshop on Bangla Desh considered ways to defend the Bangla Desh cause in Canada.

labor Challenge
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Where's it all going?

The new radicalization

Photo by MacInnis

John Steele

The opening address at the Waterloo conference was delivered by John Steele, a Toronto organizer for the League for Socialist Action. The following is the concluding portion of his speech on "The New Radicalization."

The radicalization has pushed forward powerful mass movements. The antiwar movement, which has mobilized thousands of Canadians in the streets against the complicity of the Canadian government in the war against Indochina continues to grow, to wield an impact on the campuses, in the NDP, and more recently in the union movement.

The women's liberation movement is now poised to mobilize tens and hundreds of thousands of women in struggle against the Trudeau government, for repeal of the abortion laws. The feminist movement has already affected most mass organizations, and this is only the beginning. It is destined to become a powerful force in the coming battles for a socialist society.

Then there is the Quebec independence movement — militant, oriented towards mass action, now with the support of millions of Québécois, in their overwhelming majority workers — striking at the very fabric of Canadian capitalism — a movement which by its own logic raises the question of a socialist Quebec.

The growth of these movements expresses the real and profound crisis before the Canadian profit system. Capitalism cannot liberate women, Québécois, native people and others; cannot turn its universities into instruments of social change; or provide wages, jobs or housing to meet the needs of working people. As these movements develop, they will have to come to a showdown with the capitalist system, the source of the oppression.

More is involved. In both English-speaking Canada and Quebec, while these movements develop at different times and with different tempos, they reinforce each other through inspiration and example.

Two recent events illustrate this vividly: 1) The April 1971 federal NDP convention; and 2) The July 1 independence demonstration in Montreal.

In many ways the recent NDP convention was like the 1961 founding convention — despite the growth of a hardened reformist bureaucracy in the 10 years of the NDP. The over 1,600 delegates from all corners of Canada were imbued with a radical, militant mood — a mood impatient for social change — focused and directed by a mass left wing, the Waffle movement — challenging the NDP to go socialist.

Every aspect of the radicalization that has previously been developing outside the hardened party machinery was felt on the floor of the convention — women's liberation, the Quebec national struggle, the antiwar movement (convention delegates participated in the April 24 international antiwar mobilization), public ownership of industries as a means of controlling U.S. ownership of the Canadian economy, and the student movement. The Waffle candidate for party leadership running on an anticapitalist program against the reformist leadership received well over a third of the votes.

The development of the NDP left wing can be traced in part to the issues raised around Canada-U.S. relations, Canada's role as junior partner of U.S. imperialism. Attempting to grapple with the problem of U.S. control of the Canadian economy, the leadership of the Waffle has developed a critique of Canadian society which leads to anticapitalist solutions.

This position represents a frontal challenge to the reformist program of the labor bureaucrats and the NDP leadership. It is fed by the radicalization and its growing anti-imperialist sentiment, opening the door to a revolutionary socialist program in the labor movement and the NDP.

There are those radicals who arbitrarily declared that the NDP was irrelevant to the radicalization. The radical mood of the 1961 founding convention of the NDP should have been enough to temper this naivety. What the growth of the NDP left wing demonstrates is that far from being peripheral or irrelevant, the NDP is key to this radicalization, focusing it, drawing it together towards the goal of a workers and farmers government.

The picture in Quebec is just as promising — for us, that is, for those who think in terms of social change. On July 1, 5,000 Québécois marched through the streets of Montreal, demanding independence. There was also a smaller demonstration in Hull. The demonstration was the first pro-independence mass action by the nationalist movement since Trudeau sent his troops into Quebec. It was militant, colorful, and youthful. Noticeable by its absence was the Parti Québécois, the bourgeois party which hopes, through its nationalist demagogy, to limit the movement to token changes which will not liberate the Québécois.

It is true that in the absence of a labor party in Quebec, the PQ is an obstacle to the struggle of the workers for their independence. But the July 1 demonstration showed the continued growth of a mass left wing of the independence movement, one that is willing to undertake radical mass action to achieve liberation. We can say with confidence that the national struggle of the Québécois will move rapidly past the René Lévesques towards a mass, independentist and radical labor party — because the struggle is fundamentally a class struggle.

What is the relationship of the youth radicalization to the various movements and what is the role of the most conscious elements — the revolutionary socialists, the Trotskyists — in this process?

It is true that in past periods, radical youth have played a certain role in the broader radicalization — for example in the building of the CIO. But it is also true that the student radicalization today is unprecedented. For one thing there are many more students. The universities have expanded tremendously, and they are still overcrowded. Secondly, youth do not take capitalism for granted as the best of all possible systems.

A look at the Waffle, the antiwar movement, the feminist movement, the Quebec nationalist movement shows that these questioning and critically-minded youth are there. Student youth are an essential component of all the protest movements. This is beginning to hold true for the union movement too with a rapid decrease in the age of workers in some of the main industries such as steel. *Today's alienated high school student marching with an antiwar demonstration is tomorrow's steelworker fighting for union democracy and the shorter work week.*

There is no need to talk about artificial forging of student-worker alliances. Youth — student youth — are staffing the radicalization, have opened up the NDP to the radicalization and have given a powerful and militant stimulus to the Quebec independentist movement.

The role of youth — especially the student population — is unique to this radicalization. Furthermore, in past periods reformists of either social democratic or Stalinist variety had considerable influence. This is not the case today. While there is a strong tendency for radical youth to reject pragmatically the theory of revolutionary socialism, their bent towards mass action, rejection of redbaiting, Stalinism and the labor bureaucracy, and their internationalism

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leads them to revolutionary socialism.

We come now to the role of revolutionary socialists — another unique factor in this radicalization, that will have a crucial effect on its course. The contribution of the revolutionary socialists of the LSA LSO and the YS LJS has already been of some significance. For example, in both the feminist and antiwar movements Trotskyists have been playing a prominent role. In the July 1 demonstrations a key contribution was made by the Trotskyist forces in Quebec. Revolutionary socialists through their work in the New Democratic Youth and the Socialist Caucuses that preceded the Waffle, helped lay the groundwork for the NDP left wing and are helping to build that left wing today.

The meaning of this should be clear. The most conscious element in the radicalization is capable through its activity and its press of becoming a determining factor in its overall direction.

In considering this it is important to understand the relationship between the reformist leadership of the NDP and labor movement on the one hand, and the ranks of these organizations on the other.

To be sure, the labor bureaucracy is strong and at this time is in firm control of the apparatus of both the NDP and the trade unions. At the same time this leadership has shown a degree of flexibility in relation to pressures from the radicalization. The verbal and sometimes active support of the NDP leadership for the antiwar movement is a case in point.

But the loyalty of the working people to the hardened parliamentary and reformist perspective of the leadership is not great. Workers accept this perspective because they hope it will work even if somewhat slowly. When they find that the perspective of the Lewises and the promises of Trudeau don't deliver the goods, their acceptance of the leadership's outlook can change. The mood at the last federal NDP convention illustrated that.

A similar and more favorable picture could be described for Quebec.

Everything is proving that the revolutionary socialist analysis and projections are essentially correct.

In English speaking Canada the following perspective is clear: As the radicalization deepens NDP governments can be expected in most provinces and in Ottawa. With these developments the the anticipations of the working population will grow both in the constituencies and in the trade unions themselves, with a real perspective of a mass left wing built on a program directed against the union brass.

In the areas of radicalization both inside and outside the NDP revolutionary socialists have an opportunity as never before.

In Quebec, the channel for the radicalization is the national struggle. The thrust of this movement already strives to go beyond the parliamentarianism of the petty bourgeois leadership of the Parti Quebecois. It is in the struggle beside and against the Parti Quebecois for an independent Quebec that the Quebecois forces for the revolutionary party will be gathered.

The current radicalization then points to a sharpening struggle between the reformists and the class-struggle revolutionary socialist alternatives in the New Democratic Party and the labor movement. Out of this struggle the decisive elements for the building of a mass revolutionary socialist party will be won — elements that will not choose a middle-of-the-road or centrist alternative to the NDP but will move sharply towards a Leninist perspective to the perspective of a party and program modelled after those of the Russian revolutionists.

Photo by MacInnis

50 YEARS OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM, 1921-1971 was theme of conference, referring to founding of Communist party 50 years ago. Among the displays was this portrait mural of early leaders of CP, many of whom continued revolutionary tradition in founding and working to build the Trotskyist movement. Foremost among these were Maurice Spector and Jack MacDonald.

labor Challenge #39

450 debate ideas, plan fall offensive

by Kate Alderdice
Waterloo conference coordinator

Close to 450 people from across Canada participated in the first cross-country Socialist Educational Conference at the University of Waterloo, Ont., Aug. 20-25.

Sponsored by the League for Socialist Action and Young Socialists, the conference was the biggest gathering of its kind for many years. The daily Kitchener-Waterloo Record described it as "a conference aimed at analysing the fundamental problems of Canada and then deciding what to do about them."

Many of the conference participants were students who came to discuss the significance of last spring's upsurge in the student movement, to lay plans for fall campaigns on the campuses and in the high schools, and to discuss how socialists could lead these campaigns. Forty percent of the conference participants were women who came to talk about the source of their oppression, and how they could organize to end it. Leading activists from the antiwar movement, from the New Democratic party and trade unions, and from the independentist movement in Quebec, took part.

Canadian cities from Victoria to St. John's Nfld. were represented, including many small towns. Representatives were there from the socialist movements in France, England, New Zealand, and the United States.

The 427 registered participants spent a total of some 71 hours listening to lectures and classes, participating in panels and workshop discussions! Besides that, of course, there were many hours of informal discussions. For five days, the University of Waterloo became a real center of learning. No dreary academic discussions there; no research to help the Canadian ruling class wage war. It was transformed into an institution for social change, and for an end to poverty, exploitation, and oppression.

The conference was celebrating an important anniversary in Canadian history. Fifty years earlier, near the very site of the conference, the founding congress of the Communist party of Canada took place. Because of the harsh repression of the period, that congress had to be held secretly, in the loft of a barn on the outskirts of Guelph. There were probably fewer than thirty men and women present at that historic event. The newly-founded party was illegal under Section 98, the predecessor of the War Measures Act enacted by Trudeau last fall.

Ross Dowson, executive secretary of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, described these founders of Canadian communism in his talk on fifty years of revolutionary socialism in Canada.

The conference was addressed by leaders of the socialist movements of Canada, the United States, and other contries. There were talks by Evelyn Reed, American anthropologist, on the topic Have Women Always Been the Second Sex?; by George Novack, American socialist scholar on The Meaning of Life; by Richard Thompson, a leader of the Canadian student movement and former organizer for the Canadian Union of Students.

One of the highlights of the conference was a talk by Sean Kenny, a leader of the Irish republican movement, who had come from Ireland three weeks before the conference. Kenny, the North American representative of the IRA and joint General Secretary of Sinn Fein, told the conference, "The civil strife in Northern Ireland is not a religious war, but a class war." He attacked the extensive Canadian mining interests in Ireland, which rake in substantial profits at the expense of Irish working people.

Several major campaigns for the fall period were discussed at the conference. Among them was the campaign to repeal the abortion laws in Canada, which is getting off the ground with coordinated actions across Canada on Nov. 20. Many of the women who are leading this campaign were at the conference, and there were discussions on how the conference participants could help to build the campaign. Also discussed at the conference were the important actions this fall against the war in Indochina culminating in an International Day of Protest on Nov. 6.

A major subscription drive, one of the most ambitious in the history of the socialist movement, was launched by the conference. The drive aims for 4,000 subscriptions to Labor Challenge, the Young Socialist, as well as Libération, the voice of the revolutionary socialist wing of the Quebec nationalist movement.

The plenary sessions of the conference also heard talks from: Andrew Pulley, a U.S. black militant running for vice-president of the U.S. on the Socialist Workers Party ticket; Jacquie Henderson, editor of the Young Socialist, speaking on Feminism and the Canadian Revolution; and Phil Courneyeur, educational director of the LSA LSO, on How to Make a Revolution in Canada.

Most important, the conference launched a quarterly theoretical journal of revolutionary socialism in Canada, to appear this winter. In an enthusiastic rally Sunday evening, participants donated $6,800, going well over the goal initially projected. The gain scored that evening characterized the whole conference — a big advance for the revolutionary socialist movement in Canada.

Photo by Harding

A BEST-SELLER was the United Irishman, newspaper of the IRA.

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Seek 4,000 subscribers

Socialist papers join forces, launch biggest-ever drive

by Art Young

SEPT. 6 — Quick off the mark, Ottawa has already sold 20 subscriptions! This is 13 percent of their goal. Who will be at the top of the scoreboard next week?

SEPT. 4 — The most ambitious drive in the history of the revolutionary socialist press: that's what we're launching with this issue of the paper. We aim to get 4,000 new subscribers by Nov. 20.

The drive will be a joint one, made possible by the agreement of the editorial boards of the three papers: Libération, the French-language independentist monthly; Labor Challenge; and Young Socialist, the socialist voice of the youth radicalization.

Our goal, double the number of subscriptions obtained by the three papers in separate drives last year, is quite ambitious, but we think that it is realistic, and fully in keeping with the tremendous radicalization taking place today.

The Waterloo Socialist Educational Conference demonstrated that more and more the revolutionary socialists are coming into the leadership of the developing mass movements of struggle against the system — and that more and more participants in these movements are coming to revolutionary socialism.

The key instrument in this process is the press — not only the promoter of these mass struggles, but also the educator which advances a rounded program of struggle against capitalism on all fronts, a program which develops revolutionary socialist consciousness.

With the growth of mass struggle in opposition to the war in Vietnam; for repeal of the abortion laws; for Quebec independence; for student-faculty control of the campus, etc., a qualitative increase in the circulation of the socialist press is a necessity.

How will the joint drive work?

It's quite simple. The goal is a total of 4,000 subscriptions to the three papers — the exact number of subs to each doesn't matter. The papers supplement each other. In Quebec the main part of the drive will be for Libération; but Labor Challenge and Young Socialist will also be actively circulated. In the rest of Canada, the main drive will be for the two English-language papers, without, however, neglecting to go after subscribers to Libération.

In fact, all our readers should subscribe to Liberation for the fullest coverage of the Quebec liberation movement.

We have the biggest opportunity to sell subs during campus registration, and in the activities building towards the Vietnam protests and abortion action in November. In many cases people will want subs to both Labor Challenge and Young Socialist for the fullest possible socialist news and analysis. We have prepared a special combination offer for two dollars — a subscriber to both papers saves 50 cents.

Naturally, a combination sub counts as two subs towards our goal.

In consultation with some of the key circulators of our press, we are suggesting the targets shown below for the different areas.

Supporters in each area should discuss these goals, name a drive co-ordinator, and send us weekly progress reports. There's no time to lose — the drive begins now.

	LC YS	Liberation
Vancouver	750	
Edmonton	200	
Saskatoon	100	
Winnipeg	200	25
Toronto	1100	
Sudbury	35	15
S. Ontario	420	
Ottawa	125	25
Hull	20	50
Montreal	150	250
Halifax	100	
Fredericton	100	
At large	200	145
Totals	**3500**	**500**

labor Challenge #3a Sept 1971

NDP chief wins seat in Alta. vote

by Heidi Fischer

EDMONTON, Aug. 30 — Albertans elected a new government, throwing out the 36-year old Social Credit regime. The upset was in the pattern of other provincial elections over the last two years, which have seen six provincial governments go down to defeat in six successive elections.

Throughout the election, when pinned down the Conservatives showed their policy to be exactly the same as that of the Socreds: the "fire sale" of Alberta's natural resources. However a slick advertising campaign, with extensive use of T.V. time, persuaded people that they were a real alternative. The media's attitude to the NDP as a lost cause was also a factor.

The results were a success for the NDP, which, while it lost 4 percent of the popular vote, elected its leader Grant Notley to the legislature. This is the first time the NDP has had a representative in the legislature except for a brief period previously when it won a by-election.

GRANT NOTLEY. Alberta NDP leader was elected.

In the course of the campaign, many people previously inactive in the NDP, or new to the party, were drawn in. Of 16 women candidates in the election, 11 were NDPers.

The party leadership made some big mistakes in the campaign. In spite of the fact that a bold and radical stance often got the best reactions, the NDP leadership refused to move left. The campaigning was kept largely isolated in the individual constituencies and out of the cities.

Until the Youth for the NDP rally, largely carried by the Young Socialists, the leadership had not planned any city-wide meetings in Edmonton. Despite the rally's success, no other large meetings were held.

In the campaign leaflet put out by the brass, the program was put forward very timidly and incompletely. For example, on the question of unemployment they did not mention the shorter work week (a demand adopted by the last provincial convention).

Some individual campaigns however, were well run, involving large numbers of new people. These more dynamic campaigns in most part were those of the Wafflers.

The task coming out of the elections is to further build the base of the NDP. Municipal elections will be held in Edmonton this month. So far the party has refused to enter its own slate; but it must. As well, the party must begin to participate in and initiate independent extraparliamentary actions, such as the campaigns carried in Eastern Canada last year against the sell-out of natural resources, a central issue in Alberta today.

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labor Challenge

Borowski out in Manitoba as pro-abortion fight mounts

BULLETIN — Pro-abortion forces scored a victory in Manitoba on Sept. 9, when Joe Borowski resigned from the Cabinet following sharp public reaction against his vicious attacks on women's right to abortion.

by Linda Blackwood

WINNIPEG — "Abortions are unchristian, disgusting, and bloody awful," and women who seek abortions are "sluts and no-good tramps," according to Manitoba's reactionary Highways Minister Joe Borowski.

What began three weeks ago as a vile, slanderous attack by Borowski against women's right to abortion has resulted in a serious setback in the campaign to make abortion available to the women of Manitoba.

NDP premier Ed Schreyer last week announced that the government he heads will no longer pay the costs of out-of-province abortions unless they comply with the Canadian Criminal Code which requires three doctors' signatures stating that the abortion was performed in the interests of the woman's physical or mental health.

Previously the Manitoba government had been paying $68.50 towards the cost of an abortion performed outside the province. There was no stipulation as to whether the abortion met the requirements of the Criminal Code.

Schreyer's scandalous announcement comes at a time when pro-abortionist forces in the province are seeking to join together in a campaign to win the repeal of the present archaic laws which prevent the majority of Canadian women from obtaining safe, legal abortions in Canada.

Since the federal NDP favors repeal of the law it might have been anticipated that the Schreyer government would use its resources to support the campaign and take steps as a provincial government to challenge the status quo by setting up clinics to provide abortion on demand.

This has not happened. In fact, the NDP government has done nothing to ease the situation for women seeking abortions. The majority of women are still faced with the choice of an expensive trip to, say, New York where abortions are available relatively easily, or chancing an illegal and probably dangerous abortion somewhere in Canada.

The present controversy in Manitoba arose when Borowski, well-known for his racist comments on Indians, attacked the abortion referral service of Mount Carmel Clinic in Winnipeg, charging it with "illegal pimping for abortionists." (Borowski also red-baited the clinic, by pointing out that its director, Anne Ross, is the wife of the head of Manitoba's Communist party.) Borowski sought to cut off all public funds to the clinic.

Several patients of the clinic and the Winnipeg Abortion Action Committee rallied to the clinic's defense and called for the resignation of the minister. Borowski responded with the suggestion on a radio phone-in show that young women who sought abortions should be "spayed like dogs."

The Schreyer cabinet responded by a public statement refusing to cut funds to the clinic but — allegedly surprised to learn that the Health Services commission was allowing claims for out-of-province abortions — then announced cancellation of this service.

In a brief presented to the government, the Abortion Action Committee has demanded that Manitoba set up abortion clinics to make abortions easily available to all women, that all therapeutic committees in the hospitals be abolished and that relevant birth control information and devices be made freely available to all people.

The committee said they submitted a brief to Health Minister René Toupin four months ago and they have not yet received a reply.

Many people have joined the committee as a result of the controversy. The committee has issued a call for all pro-abortion forces to unite and form a coalition to campaign for immediate repeal of the anti-abortion law. Many rank and file NDPers, disgusted by Borowski's statements and the cabinet's actions, are expected to join the campaign.

labor Challenge #39 Sept 1971

Marchers demand full rights for gays

by John Wilson

OTTAWA, Aug. 28 — Despite drenching rain, 125 men and women converged on Parliament Hill today to hold a militant demonstration for full legal and social equality for homosexuals.

The demonstrators chanted slogans such as "Say it Loud, Gay is Proud!", "Two, Four, Six, Eight, Gay is Just as Good as Straight — Three, Five, Seven, Nine, Lesbians are Mighty Fine!" and carried placards some of which read "Repeal all Anti-Homosexual Laws", "End Job Discrimination", "Amend the Immigration Act", "Gay is Good", "Out of the Closets and Into the Streets".

The rally chairman started off by reading a telegram of solidarity from the Vancouver Gay Alliance Toward Equality (GATE), which was holding a rally in Vancouver at the same time as the Ottawa action.

"Two million Canadian homosexual men and women are watching us" stated Charles Hill, speaking for Toronto Gay Action, (TGA) which spearheaded the organization of the march. "We are here to demand equal rights."

Hill said that amendments made to the Criminal Code two years ago have "done nothing for us as gays."

"Even today, homosexuals are losing their jobs, are being forced out of their churches, are being assaulted on the streets.

"We are no longer willing to give thanks for a few crumbs from our government.

"We're fed up with the genocide of gays. We're fed up with having to pay the price of other people's hangups.

"There's not a homosexual problem in Canada, there's a heterosexual problem!"

The rally roared approval, chanting slogans, many giving the clenched-fist salute.

The marchers were also addressed by Pierre Masson of the Front de Libération Homosexuel (Montreal) and George Hislop and Pat Murphy of the Community Homophile Association of Toronto (CHAT).

The wind-up speaker was John Williams of Cleveland who gave greetings of solidarity from American gay liberationists. Declaring that "oppression knows no boundaries" he denounced the prevalent prejudice that homosexuality is a disease. "The real perverts, degenerates and sickies" are not homosexuals in the streets but "those who sit in Congress and Parliament," the political leaders of a society which feeds on war, racism and poverty.

The demonstrators sought to present their brief demanding civil rights for gay people to a government representative, but no one could be found to receive it, despite the fact that the government had been advised of the demonstration and the brief well in advance.

Also participating in the Ottawa action were the Homophile Associations of the University of Toronto (UTHA), York University (YUHA), and the University of Western Ontario (UWOHA) as well as the Waterloo Universities' Gay Liberation Front. There were also gays from Hamilton, Kingston, and Ottawa in addition to some heterosexual supporters of gay civil rights.

In Vancouver, 20 gay militants and a sympathetic crowd of 150 to 200 listened to GATE chairman Roedy Green read out the list of demands in the TGA brief. Another GATE speaker stressed the historic significance of the first cross-country rally of homosexuals demanding an end to second-class citizenship. The rally was addressed also by a spokeswoman from Vancouver Gay Sisters and Gay Liberation Front. The demonstration was backed by the Young Socialists and a statement of support from the B.C. Civil Liberties Association was read to the gathering. Over 300 leaflets outlining the demands of TGA's brief were distributed to the crowd and passers-by.

labor Challenge #34 Sept 1971

Ottawa's new spy agency aimed at mass movements

SEPT. 3 — Leaders of the League for Socialist Action Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, the Canadian Trotskyist movement, today denounced Solicitor-General Jean-Pierre Goyer for using "McCarthyite tactics" when he smeared the LSA LSO as subversive. Goyer made his remarks in a speech to the Canadian Police Chiefs Association meeting in Calgary Sept. 2.

"Who is subverting democracy?" charged Manon Leger, chairwoman of the LSA LSO and candidate for the Montreal mayoralty last October. "We, who present our opinions and all our activities openly — or Goyer and the Trudeau government who, without even consulting parliament set up secret agencies to inform on, spy on, intimidate and harass Canadians who hold dissenting views?"

Ross Dowson, executive secretary of the LSA LSO, pointed out that Ottawa's recent creation of the Security Planning and Research Group is yet another attempt to find scapegoats for the government's inability to resolve the growing problems of Canadian capitalist society.

He was commenting on the formation in Ottawa of a new "civilian security agency" designed to report directly to the cabinet on "potential threats to the country's internal security," according to a spokesman in Goyer's department. It is reported that about 20 members of the new agency would work on police files in Ottawa in collaboration with RCMP, other police forces, and the armed forces. In addition, "regional specialists" across the country will report on their districts.

"Last year," Dowson declared, "Messrs. Trudeau and Bourassa brought to bear the powerful force of the central state, including its armed forces, in a massive occupation of Quebec, suspending the democratic rights of all Canadians, arresting hundreds of Québecois, raiding thousands of homes, with the claim that the Front de Libération du Quebec was out to overthrow the government. But it turned out that the 'FLQ', if it existed at all, was nothing more than a handful of persons lacking any coordination among themselves, and totally isolated from the mass movements for social change.

"What a scandal it is that the government should now repeat the same sort of charges it was totally unable to prove in the courts before judges and juries in the Quebec trials under the Public Order Act!"

The real aims of Goyer's slanders of "Maoists," "Trotskyists," "revolutionary youth," etc., is to intimidate Canadians with minority views who dare express those views. "By singling out the Trotskyists for attack," asked Manon Léger, "does the government think it can stop the growth of the mass movements in which the Trotskyists are active, often playing a leading role — the antiwar movement, the Quebec independence movement, women's liberation, the student movement." It is these mass movements — profoundly democratic — that the government really fears. And it is trying to use against them the same discredited red-baiting and scare tactics that it has relied on to meet the threat of the independence movement in Quebec, she added.

Even now, she charged, we can see how the government has moved, under the umbrella of the War Measures Act, the Public Order Act and similar repressive laws to new McCarthyite methods. A top Quebec government official charges that a leading Quebec personality is the "leader" of the FLQ — but refuses, of course, to name him or her. Recent information has revealed how the RCMP itself is paying young people to act as informers for it. Police files accumulated on those detained under the War Measures Act, but never charged, have been shown to employers ... and so on.

Both Dowson and Leger called for an immediate end to government slander against legal political organizations and disbandment of the security group. "Protection of citizens' democratic rights against arbitrary police powers," they both emphasized, "will only come about when citizens are given control of all police forces through democratically elected commissions — a demand the LSA LSO has consistently fought for for many years."

labor Challenge #24 Sept 1971

War Measures Act probe will open hearings Oct. 12

As the press continues to report new developments flowing out of last October's Quebec crisis, ten prominent Canadians announced Sept. 2 their participation in a Citizen's Commission of Inquiry into the War Measures Act.

The Quebec government has denied earlier reports that it has dropped all charges against the 32 remaining persons charged under the War Measures Act. It has in fact merely suspended proceedings against them; the charges can be re-activated at any future date. This decision, which amounts to blackmail of those charged, among them Michel Chartrand and Robert Lemieux, has provoked sharp protests from many quarters. The 32 demand that either they be tried immediately, or the charges be dropped.

The government is unwilling to proceed with the trials, as it does not have the slightest shred of evidence against those it has accused. It failed to convict almost all those it has brought to trial for offenses under the War Measures Act.

In another development, Quebec City has admitted that prison guards assaulted a number of the political prisoners jailed during the crisis.

These new developments highlight the importance of the Commission's investigations. In the course of the citizens' inquiry, other new facts will undoubtedly be brought to light.

Chairman of the Commission is Woodrow Lloyd, former NDP premier of Saskatchewan.

Other commissioners are: Fernand Daoust, secretary general of the Quebec Federation of Labor (CLC); Laurier Lapierre, a leading NDPer and director of French-Canadian Studies at McGill University; Linda Meissenheimer, president of the student council at Simon Fraser University and a member of the Young Socialists; Michel Bourdon, vice-president of the Montreal Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions; Adèle Lauzon, a Quebec journalist; Trevor Berry, executive secretary, Manitoba Human Rights Commission; Richard Dunlap, law professor, University of British Columbia; Alonzo LeBlanc of the Quebec Civil Service Union (CNTU); and Rev. John Morgan, Unitarian minister from Toronto.

The Commission will hold public hearings across the country, beginning in Montreal on Oct. 12. It invites submissions from individuals and organizations on the roots of the Quebec crisis, the reasons for the invocation of the War Measures Act, and the effect on civil liberties.

A public appeal has been launched to raise $20,000 to pay the Commission's expenses, and support committees are being established in a number of cities.

labor Challenge #39 Sept 1971

Waffle backs Texpack strike

"Police, armed with all the equipment of a civil war, have turned a public street into the private property of an American corporation," declared R. Kent Rowley, national president of the Canadian Textile and Chemical Union which has been on strike at the Texpack plant in Brantford, Ont. for eight weeks. Rowley was hitting out at police attacks on the Texpack picket line, and the arrests of strikers under an injunction limiting the right to picket.

Two days after Rowley's statement the police did an abrupt about-face, declaring that they would no longer enforce the injunction or "protect" Texpack's attempts to herd scabs through the line. The decision came barely hours after 1,000 steelworkers from nearby Hamilton, in a mass defiance of the injunction and the cops' threats, joined the picketers around the plant. There was no violence: the cops were nowhere to be seen and the Brantford mayor had ordered the plant closed.

More than three-quarters of the Texpack strikers are women. At issue are wages and a company threat to permanently close the plant.

The Ontario Waffle Labor Committee sponsored a meeting attended by 150 people in Brantford Sept. 4 to discuss how to aid the Texpack struggle. Featured speakers at the meeting were Waffle leader Jim Laxer and Mac Makarchuk, NDP MPP from Brantford. Unionists from a wide variety of Brantford and Hamilton area locals attended the meeting, as well as some unionists from as far away as Windsor, Ont. They decided to support the Sept. 16 mass demonstration in front of the Ontario Parliament buildings sponsored by the Texpack local and by Hamilton Steelworkers local 1005.

The Waffle Labor Committee is circulating a leaflet to build the demonstration, which will call on Ontario Premier William Davis to put a halt to the use of injunctions and scabs.

In his speech, Laxer demanded that the Davis government nationalize the U.S.-owned Texpack plant, and place it under the control of the workers now on strike.

— Louis Paquette

union front

Niagara march

ST. CATHARINES — Over 1,500 unionists and supporters marched here Aug. 24 to support workers on strike at the Kimberly-Clark plant, in the most powerful demonstration of labor militancy seen in the Niagara peninsula for some time. The 200 members of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers have been on strike since July 6, attempting to win wage parity with U.S. mill workers. On the picket line, they have been repeatedly attacked by cops opening the way for scabs and materials to enter the plant.

Demonstrators displayed a militant spirt, with banners, placards, and chants: "No cops on the picket line"; "parity now"; "Nationalize Kimberly-Clark"; and "Remember Clydeside", in reference to the occupation of the shipyards by Scottish workers. There was a sizeable womens' contingent.

At the rally following the march, demonstrators heard representatives of some of the 11 area locals participating in the protest voice support for the strike and pledge aid. Featured speaker was Stephen Lewis, leader of the Ontario NDP, who blasted the cops' picket-line violence. Lewis pointed out that the company had received a "forgiveable loan" of $269,000 from the Ontario Tory government, despite first-quarter profits of $10 million.

— Carol Black and Pat Breene

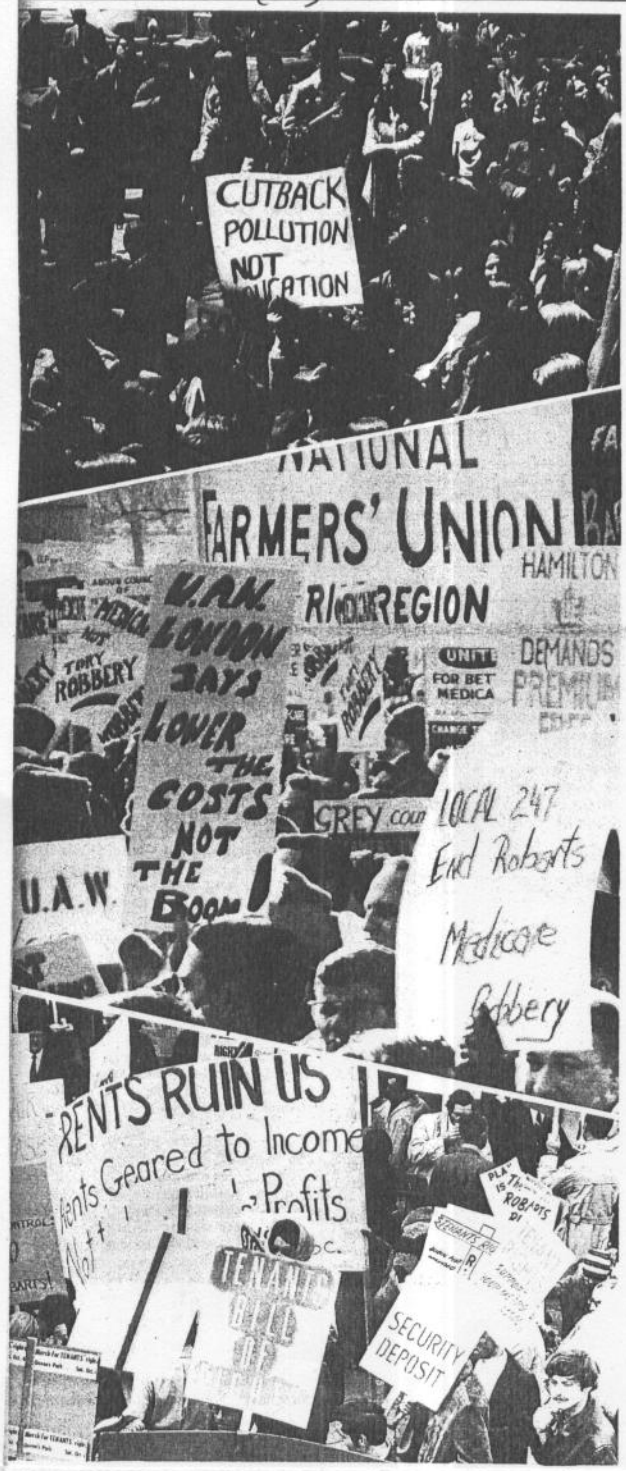
FOR AN NDP GOVERNMENT!

labor Challenge

September-October 1971 (39-A) 10 cents

Ontario Election Special

- NDP program
- Youth and the campaign
- U.S. domination of Ontario
- Women and the NDP
- Catholic schools question
- Special offer



CHALLENGE IN ONTARIO. High school students striking against cutbacks in education spending; trade unionists protesting high medicare premiums; tenants demanding the right to organize for lower rents — all these forces can come together in campaign to kick Conservatives out of Queen's Park and elect NDP to power.

Labor to power is the key issue

By The Editors

In a last-minute flurry of legislation before calling the Ontario election, the Davis government tried to make us forget what had happened — and not happened — during 28 years of Tory rule.

Cancellation of the partially-completed Spadina expressway. A cut in medicare premiums. A $25 million lawsuit against Dow Chemicals for polluting Lake St. Clair and ruining the livelihood of commercial fishermen. Refusal to extend tax aid to Catholic schools.

All this—on top of a 25 percent reduction in farm property taxes, and the annual tax rebates to tenants adopted last year....and the resignation of Premier Robarts and appointment of the "new image" leader, William Davis....

But it's all as phony as a Confederation for Tomorrow conference, or a Home Ownership Made Easy program.

It's plain to see — the Tories are on the run.

And no wonder. They'll be prime targets on Oct. 21 for the wave of unease, of revolt, that is spreading across the country — a mood of deep disenchantment with all governing parties that is sparked by the massive layoffs, the farm crisis, pollution perils, the sellout of natural resources and growing U.S. domination of the economy — and that has already resulted in the election of two NDP provincial governments in the last two years.

Neither the Tory government nor its "official" opposition, the Liberals, are able to respond to this popular sentiment. But the New Democratic Party stands poised for a decisive breakthrough in Ontario. That is the key issue in this election campaign —

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the need for the working people of Ontario to unite in the struggle to put labor in power, through the election of an NDP government.

In fact, that's been the key issue since the NDP was formed ten years ago.

But this year there's something new — a powerful feeling that an NDP government can become a reality.

And it's much more. A mood of expectation, of confidence, that an NDP victory will be not just a triumph for the party, the formation of a legislature majority, but a crucial breakthrough toward power for a vital movement that can begin to carry out major changes in Ontario.

The NDP's campaign exudes this confidence. "We'll deliver!" proclaim the party's posters. In other times, other places, it might seem self-deprecating, this gleeful jibe at the chicken-and-pizza palace pledge. But for many NDP supporters it expresses their expectation that the party will indeed level with the voters and speak squarely to the issues.

Among the major issues NDP leader Stephen Lewis cited at the outset of the campaign, in the pages of the party newspaper, the New Democrat, were "the uncertainty of the current unemployment crises, rising consumer costs....the failure of the Tory government to introduce a comprehensive, workable medicare system, and the takeover of our land and economy by outsiders...."

We can be sure that Lewis and many of the candidates will speak to these issues — and many others, too, as they are raised in the campaign. Already — in Lewis' support for repeal of the anti-abortion laws, his call for opening the books of such corporations as The Telegram and General Motors — the party leadership has shown its readiness to respond positively to the militant mood of large sections of the Ontario electorate.

True, past experience demonstrates that many of their answers, formulated entirely within the framework of a capitalist Ontario — which the NDP leadership takes for granted — fall far short of the necessary solutions. Insofar as the NDP campaign fails to advance the socialist alternative, it fails to get all

See page 3

NDP poised for power

Continued from page 1

it could out of the gigantic and costly electioneering effort. It does not educate forces to work in the general areas of the class struggle on a day-to-day basis.

But among those who consider themselves socialist, only hopeless sectarians and political derelicts from another age can stand aside or oppose the NDP campaign. True to form is the Communist party, which is fielding five candidates against the NDP, two of them against members of the NDP's left wing, the Waffle.

The socialists cannot leave the campaign in the hands of the NDP leadership. We must intervene energetically in all the ridings, working to ensure that the NDP puts forward all the positive features of its official program, as adopted by the membership in convention. The election can become an effective booster of the mass action campaigns this fall. For example, NDP candidates — and others — should be challenged to endorse and participate in actions for repeal of the abortion laws. And party activists must be encouraged to help build the Nov. 6 international protests against the Indochina war.

In the forefront of efforts to advance the socialist program in the NDP campaign are members and supporters of the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists. They are working to make the election the focal point for activists in women's liberation, the student movement and the antiwar movement. And they see the election as an excellent opportunity to bring the socialist alternative before masses of people who have not yet become involved in any of the developing mass movements.

An NDP triumph Oct. 21 would be a tremendous victory for the working people, the students and the farmers of Ontario — the best possible reply we could give to the arrogant attempts by the big business governments of the Liberals in Ottawa and the Tories in Toronto to make us bear the cost of capitalist crisis through layoffs, antilabor legislation and cutbacks in social services.

The election of an NDP government at Queen's Park would be a crucial step toward establishing a socialist Ontario and a socialist Canada.

'Abortion is a woman's right' - Lewis

An NDP government in Ontario would press for abortions "on request" and campaign to have abortion removed from the Criminal Code, Ontario NDP leader Stephen Lewis declared Sept. 21.

In reply to a question, Lewis told an election audience in Waterloo: "I suppose I support repeal of the abortion law because I believe that a woman has the right to control her own body." He said it was unfair that a woman should have to suffer the humiliation of appearing before a panel of doctors to argue her case for wanting an abortion. His statement was applauded by the audience.

See article inside for further details.

labor Challenge #39A Sept 1971

Major elec issues point to need for socialisolutions in Ontario

by Rene Courtney

Many aspects of the NDP program adopted by the membership at the party convention last October clearly reveal the profound differences between the NDP and the two big-business parties.

Three parts of the program show most clearly the NDP's basic stance. It defends the labor movement, the tenants movement, and the women's liberation movement, with demands that challenge the hold of the ruling class. The NDP calls for the outlawing of the use of injunctions in strikes and of the use of scabs. "An employer cannot be permitted to displace his labour force by hiring outside strikebreakers or by unilateral introduction of automated processes during the life of a collective agreement. . ."

The housing program calls for legal recognition of "collective bargaining rights for tenants through tenants' unions similar to labor unions." It pledges that "these unions would have legal bargaining power over matters such as rent, service provided, compensation if the building is demolished, and the ultimate right to strike."

Most importantly, the NDP stands for the "extension of public housing to all social classes and to families of all ages and sizes." Housing, the NDP says, is a public responsibility "in much the same way as education and medicare are public responsibilities." Public housing today, under the control of Tory big-business government, means ghetto housing for the poor.

The lucrative sectors — suburban housing, etc. — are left to private real estate sharks and contractors. The NDP program pledges to develop public housing for all Canadians regardless of their income level — the only way out from under the exploitation and tyranny of slum lords and mortgage leaders for the majority of the Canadian working people.

The 1970 convention of the NDP came out in support of the demands of the women's liberation movement — abortion on demand, community-controlled abortion clinics, community and workplace child-care clinics, equal pay for equal work, etc.

The right-wing leadership does not campaign on those planks. Stephen Lewis and party campaign strategists are downplaying or ignoring many of the most important parts of the program. They are attempting to appeal opportunistically to middle-class prejudices and to the outlook of more conservative layers of the working class. The key to Queens Park, if we are to believe Lewis, lies in winning the good-will of the daily capitalist press and the Establishment.

This is the very opposite of what the NDP should be doing in this campaign. The NDP, a labor party, must, to win power, mobilize behind itself the working people of Ontario. To do this, it has to take up the real problems of working people, and pose the real solutions — socialist solutions, many of which are indicated by the convention decisions. Only in this way can workers be educated to the real nature of capitalist society, and the necessity of a labor government.

The scandalous NDP backing for state support to the separate Catholic high schools is the worst example of the leadership's approach. This is a patent, ill-disguised bid for the Catholic vote, for which the NDP breaks from the principle of public, secular education.

Stephen Lewis
Ontario NDP leader

While the Lewis leadership shapes the campaign and attempts to impose its line on the party, the NDP is much more than this — indeed much more than the program adopted by the last convention.

The Canada-wide development of a mass left wing — the Waffle movement — has challenged the party to move in a socialist direction and to put forward a clear alternative to the capitalist parties. At the October 1970 Ontario NDP convention, the Waffle resolution "For a Socialist Ontario in an Independent Socialist Canada" took 47 percent of the convention in a ballot vote. "To the present reality of Americanization and capitalism", the resolution stated, "we must pose the alternative of independence and socialism. . .The means for repatriation of our economy. . .include extensive public control of investment and the nationalization of large corporations in key sectors of the economy."

The adopted program of the NDP for public housing; for public ownership of energy resources; and for the mandatory full financial disclosure of operations of foreign controlled corporations reflect the pressure of the NDP ranks for a socialist alternative.

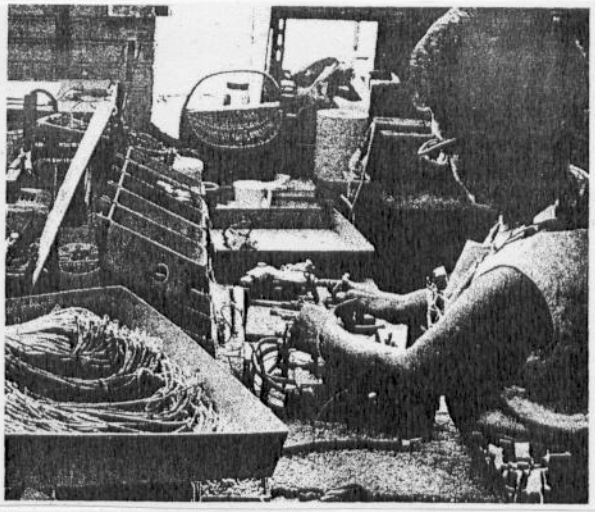
The manipulations of the party program by the Lewis leadership cannot hide the party's ties to the unions.

The NDP pledges to defend and extend the rights of the labor movement — most importantly, the strike weapon.

The NDP speaks for and defends the rights of women, labor, the tenants. It poses in a strong way the only real alternative that working people have to the tyranny of the bosses — a government of the working people in Queens Park and Ottawa. The NDP can win this election In Ontario. Together with NDP governments in Saskatchewan and Manitoba, an Ontario NDP government would be a big step forward towards an NDP government in all of Canada.

labor Challenge

Ont. NDP campaigns for women's rights



WOMEN WORKERS, the most exploited in Ontario, are organizing against low wages, poor working conditions, and for day care and right to control lives — as in demand for unfettered right to abortion.

By Kate Alderdice

Stephen Lewis, leader of the Ontario NDP, declared Sept. 21 that an NDP government would press for abortions "on request" and campaign to have abortion removed from the Criminal Code. The NDP is the only party in the Ontario election campaign which supports the right of women to abortion.

In reply to a question, Lewis told a Waterloo audience: 'I suppose I support repeal of the abortion law because I believe that a woman has the right to control her own body." He said it was unfair that a woman should have to suffer the humiliation of appearing before a panel of doctors to argue her case for wanting an abortion. His statement was applauded by the audience.

An NDP government in Ontario, Lewis pledged, would demand that Ottawa remove abortion from the criminal code. Should it refuse, the province would challenge the federal government in the courts, seeking a ruling that abortion is under provincial jurisdiction.

Abortion is an important issue in this election. Thousands of Ontario women need access to safe, legal abortion. The record of the Tory big business government on the abortion issue is one of contempt for the needs of women.

Only two-thirds of accredited Ontario hospitals have therapeutic abortion committees; many of these hospitals have quotas governing the number of abortions they will perform regardless of the merits of the woman's case. The provincial government, which supervises the operation of hospitals, could undertake to establish abortion committees in every Ontario hospital, committees of doctors who are pledged to grant abortion on demand. In addition, it could set up abortion and birth control clinics around the province, and campaign for the repeal of that section of the Criminal Code which presently makes abortion illegal.

Lack of access to abortion is only one aspect — although a very important one — of the oppression of women in this province. In every other respect — wages and working conditions, education, child care facilities, etc. — Ontario women suffer severe discrimination because of their sex.

A recently-published Ontario government report, Working Women in Ontario, shows that women constitute a huge block of super-exploited, grossly underpaid workers. Thirty-three percent of the province's labor force last year — expected to rise to 40 percent by 1980 — their average wage is only $1,952, while the average income of men is $5,094, although the female work force is generally better educated than the male work force.

The Women's Equal Employment Opportunity Act, passed last year to prohibit discrimination on the job because of sex or marital status, is hopelessly inadequate to meet the needs of these women. Thousands of women workers are explicitly excluded from protection under the Act, because they work for employers who hire fewer than six workers. Maternity leave benefits are provided under the Act, but with two provisions which render it practically useless. A woman must be employed for one year prior to the time of her maternity leave; and the Act binds only employers of 25 or more workers! That means that about 116,000 women in this province who work for small firms are automatically excluded from this benefit. Needless to say, the leave is not paid.

One important factor behind the low wages and bad working conditions is lack of union organization. In 1968 only 18 percent of women workers in the province were unionized, compared to 31 percent for men. A major factor is the Ontario law which is designed to impede unionization, particularly in those sectors where women workers are most numerous.

Things are just as bad for Ontario women looking for child care facilities. Last year there were about 230,000 working women who had to make arrangements for care of their children. Yet there are in the whole province only 216 full-day programs for small children run by public and private nursery schools. Consequently 64 percent of these children had to be looked after in the home — by relatives, babysitters, etc.

Low wages, bad working conditions, lack of access to abortion — these are just some of the results of the last 28 years of Tory rule for Ontario women. This is not at all surprising since the oppression of women is an integral part of the capitalist system the Tory government upholds. For them, the oppression of women is very profitable indeed, and our needs count for nothing.

The New Democratic Party, the party of the labor movement, is the only one which has responded to the plight of women. At its last convention in 1970 it adopted a program for the liberation of women. At the Waterloo meeting, Stephen Lewis quoted from that program, "A woman's right to control her own body is an integral part of her fight to control her life. Therefore, she must be able to choose whether or not she wants to bear a child.

"To this end, birth control knowledge and contraceptives will be available to all men and women at puberty, and community-controlled hospital and or clinic facilities will be established to provide birth control information, pregnancy tests, abortion, maternity care, sterilization and vasectomy as requested."

The same convention also adopted resolutions calling for maternity leave with full pay for working women for up to three months, day care centers in the community and at work, a wage for houseworkers, and an end to the channelling of women in the education system.

The big business parties of the Tories and Liberals have nothing to offer women. But women have every interest in supporting and campaigning for the NDP.

labor Challenge #39A Sept 1971

Position on Catholic schools weakens NDP

by Norm Browne

TORONTO — A major flaw in the NDP's election campaign is its support for extending full tax aid to Catholic separate schools to grade 13 from the present limit, grade 10. The NDP's position challenges the principle that religion has no place in the classroom, and opens the door to strengthening the influence of one of the most reactionary institutions, the Catholic church.

The Catholic hierarchy, no doubt worried by the growing radicalization among young people (including support for abortion and birth control), has been mobilizing for a long time to put its school system on a par with the public school system at all levels. No sooner had the election been called, than the Ontario bishops called a press conference to renew their appeals, rejected by the Davis government only days before.

The Catholics argue, in effect, that there are two public schools systems, "protestant" and Catholic, each with equal claim to government tax support. The Robarts Tory government encouraged this position when it instituted its "foundation plan" in the early 1960s, providing existing Catholic schools with an equivalent share of corporation tax revenues.

But the Davis government, facing an election where it is challenged as never before by the NDP, had other considerations. It needed to reinforce the "progressive" image it was attempting to fashion. And it hoped to strengthen Tory support in gerrymandered rural ridings where overtaxed farmers, few of them Catholics, are worried about government spending on such items as education.

In a disgraceful, crude attempt to cater to the Catholic vote, the NDP leadership last year maneuvered the party into support of the Catholic proposal — a position already held by the Liberal party.

Attempting to justify this reversal of traditional party policy, NDP leader Stephen Lewis echoes the Catholic claim that their schools have "particular validity" based on constitutional and historical rights.

But the constitutional "precedent" is totally reactionary. Its origins are in the British government's Act of Union of 1841, designed to put the French-speaking nation in Canada in a minority status in the aftermath of the 1837 rebellion, by integrating the colonies of Upper and Lower Canada into one political unit. The Catholic hierarchy was to be placated with the promise of its own schools in Ontario in return for a similar privilege for Protestants in Quebec — the basis of the privileged English school system which is today so detested by the Quebecois.

At one time, the question of Catholic schools was closely linked in some areas of Ontario with the right of the French-speaking population to its own schools. But today French schools are provided for in legislation distinct from that for separate schools.

The extension of the separate school system, by reversing a trend toward secularization of education, would open the door to formation of other sectarian school systems and the sex and class discrimination that normally accompany such private institutions.

Among the Jewish and fundamentalist Protestant sects which have joined forces with the Catholic hierarchy in its campaign is the Ontario Alliance of Christian schools which seeks tax support, in the words of its brief, "to help raise our children in fear of the Lord."

The NDP's opportunist support for this reactionary proposition has aroused the ire of many militant workers, well aware of the Church's reactionary role as a buttress of the bosses. Many NDP activists are profoundly uneasy. All five resolutions from riding associations on this question at the last provincial convention opposed further aid to the Catholic schools; none endorsed the provincial council's support of it.

It is not too late to reverse a wrong position. The NDP should renounce its support of Catholic schools, call for their abolition through integration into a single secular public school system, and for an end to all religious instruction in the schools.

And the NDP must campaign around a program to make the schools accessible to all working people — through abolition of fees at all levels including university, democratization of the schools through their operation by students and teachers, and provision for French-language schools wherever there is a significant French-speaking community.

labor Challenge #34A Sept 1971

Young Socialists join in campaign

The following are major excerpts from the election statement of the Young Socialists. 30,000 copies of the statement are being distributed across Ontario.

So they've finally called an election that many of us students can actually vote in. What does this mean to you? It could mean a lot or it could just mean more of the same.

You look around Ontario and what do you see — pollution clouding up the atmosphere, resources sold down the river, overcrowded schools pumping irrelevent facts into students who have no control over what we learn. There is poverty, inflation and war. Everybody admits the world is a mess. So what's in the election for us?

We know what the Tories represent. They have attacked education standards with their cutbacks in education spending, ignoring the protests of students and teachers. During summer vacation they passed the University of Toronto Act behind the backs and against the wishes of thousands of students who had campaigned for parity with faculty in decision-making during the spring.

(The Liberals and Conservatives) represent the whole present rotten order of things. And no wonder.

These big business parties represent the ninety-seven men who control almost every sector of the Canadian economy through their 930 directorships on corporations. The interests of these men — the E.P. Taylors, the Eaton and Simpson families — are in direct opposition to the vast majority who have to struggle each day to earn enough to live. That's why they need governments that speak and act on their behalf.

In order to bring change we need a government that speaks for us. The New Democratic Party is the only party which represents the working people, our parents and us. It doesn't get any support from the E.P. Taylors. In fact, big business hates it. It is financed and supported by the labor movement. It has been built by working people struggling for a better life.

The NDP is the only alternative to the status quo in this election. That's why we've got to campaign for an NDP government in Ontario. Tory and Liberal governments can only block our struggles to change our lives and society. The NDP can be an important part of the struggle for change. For the first time Queens Park would be torn away from the domination of big business and the voice of the majority expressed in the Ontario government. . .

The Young Socialists is an independent organization of students in Ontario and across the country. It is the only active youth movement that supports the NDP. Young Socialists campaign 365 days of the year against the system. . .

Join us in campaigning for an NDP government.

Join us in campaigning for a socialist world.

Join the Young Socialists.

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You can't always get what you want

But if you want to join Canada's largest socialist student organization; if you want to campaign for an NDP government; if you want to build the movements for repeal of the abortion laws and against Canada's complicity in Vietnam; if you want to join an organization that supports the Quebec independence movement, that fights for a Socialist Canada in a socialist world . . . then you can get what you want.

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Newmarket: c/o Wendy Cressman, 977 Lemar Rd., 895-9783.
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 #39A Sept 1971

labor Challenge

Vol. 2, No. 18 (40) September 27, 1971 15 cents

New readers see offer inside

Ontario election supplement inside

NDP to power! – challenge in Ontario

STRUGGLE FOR FRENCH SCHOOLS. As election campaign opened, Ontario's Conservative government was confronted by militant demonstrations of Franco-ontarien students demanding French high schools. Above, school administrator picks his way through student sit-in outside school office in Sturgeon Falls. Story page 4.

FOR AN NDP GOVERNMENT. Trade unionists rally at Ontario legislature, Toronto, to call for defeat of "union-busting Tories." Now labor movement has opportunity to defeat the Tories and strike a tremendous blow for all Canadian working people by mobilizing behind NDP campaign, thrusting party to power in Ontario.

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Quebecois nationalists plan October actions

by Marilyn Raphael

MONTREAL — Support for the Oct. 15-16 actions for a French Quebec is growing very rapidly. Already the list of those supporting the actions called by the Front Commun pour la Defense de la Langue Francaise (United Front for the Defense of the French Language) contains the names of some of the best-known personalities on the Quebec left.

The United Front was launched on Sept. 1 in a spirited and militant atmosphere, when over 100 persons, largely trade unionists and students, crammed into a meeting hall. They were responding to a call from three organizations, the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, the Chevaliers de l'Independance, and the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, for a meeting to discuss action to defend the French language. The three groups had previously been the principal organizers of the July 1 anti-Confederation demonstration.

The language question has become the most explosive social issue in Quebec since the passage of Bill 63, which under the guise of "equal status for the French and English languages" assured an accelerated anglicization of the Quebecois. A new law, to be voted on in October, has been introduced into the National Assembly. This is Bill 28, which proposes to further buttress in law the English-language school system in Montreal. Added to this is the designation by the federal government of Quebec as a bilingual territory. To the Quebecois, the so-called bilingualism is a one-way process.

A number of strikes, such as at General Motors in Ste-Therese, and presently in Joliette, Terrebonne, and Mont Laurier, have occurred over the right to work in French, the language of the overwhelming majority of workers.

The United Front launched the campaign around three central demands: 1) the immediate establishment of French as the language of work, 2) the immediate withdrawal of Bills 63 and 28, and 3) for school integration — one system of public education in French.

A day of teach-ins in schools and factories throughout Quebec has been projected for Oct. 15 and a massive demonstration is planned for Oct. 16, the anniversary of the War Measures Act. The United Front also decided to defend Raymond Lemieux and Reggie Chartrand, two of the leading individuals in the St-Leonard demonstration of 1969 for a French school system. Charged with inciting a riot, they face trial this fall. Other building actions will be a tour of schools throughout Quebec and an extensive petition campaign.

Most prominent among the sponsors of the action are Marcel Pepin, head of the 225,000-member Confederation of National Trade Unions; Robert Lemieux, civil liberties lawyer; Raymond Laliberte, leader of the Quebec NDP; the executive of the Montreal council of the CNTU; and three Parti Quebecois MLAs: Robert Burns, Claude Charron, and Charles Tremblay.

Other sponsors include Frank Diterlizzi, head of the striking Lapalme workers; Pauline Julien, folksinger; Mathias Rioux, head of the Montreal Teachers Union; Raymond Lemieux; Manon Leger, LSO; Marcel Chaput; and Serge Mongeau.

The response from areas outside Montreal is also impressive. Language committees are presently being established in Hull, Jonquiere and Quebec City.

labor Challenge #40 Sept 1971

Ont. students strike for French schools

by Phil Courneyeur

Franco-ontarien secondary school students at Sturgeon Falls won a concession from the Ontario government Sept. 15, after their week-long strike which culminated in the occupation of the school by the students. Education Minister Robert Welch promised to revise Bill 141, the law governing French-language education, and the government appointed Thomas Symons, the president of Trent University to head a one-man commission of inquiry into the status of French-language education in Ontario.

Symons, a loyal Tory hack who sits on the Conservative party national policy committee, can be counted upon to keep this question out of the provincial election.

With the concession, the striking students led by the Comite d'Action Etudiant, agreed to end their strike and sit-in and to await the report from Symons.

Their strike, the fourth in two years, was called to demand a separate French-language high school. The Sturgeon Falls school in Nipissing School District is classified as "bilingual", like 39 other secondary schools in Ontario serving 12,700 students. There are 20 French-language high schools in Ontario serving 13,000 students.

The strike began Sept. 7 after the Nipissing School Board voted 10 to 6 against a separate French school. The francophone students, led by Jean St-Louis, a grade 13 student, called on the community for support, which came quickly. Most of the French-language faculty, 47 teachers, issued a statement of support, even though they were threatened with loss of certification by the School Board. The Association d'Education d'Ouest Nipissing (the francophone parents association) pledged its support and many parents joined the lines and demonstrations. The local Catholic hierarchy also supported the student demands. Support arrived from other francophone sectors of the "Nickel Belt" including North Bay and Sudbury.

Jean St-Louis explained the strike strategy in these words: "The raised fist (their symbol) is not a symbol of violence — it's a symbol of power. We will do all we can to avoid any violence." To express their contempt for the "francophobe" School Board majority, the students adopted the slogan "Frogpower"; placards on the demonstrations read: We Want Our School — Death to the Board; and Yes Sir, It's War.

The condition of forced assimilation and anglicization of Franco-ontariens in the Nickel Belt country is not uncharacteristic of the fate of Franco-ontariens in general. La Cause, the journal of the francophone parents in Nipissing School District, published a special issue in support of the strike which included figures from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics 1969 report, "The Cultural Life of Franco-ontariens."

From 1876 to 1956, more than 34 percent of the Franco-ontariens were anglicised, that is, lost French as their native tongue. But the rate of anglicisation jumped dramatically after World War Two. For example, in 1956, youth under four years of age had a rate of anglicisation of 49 percent.

The future of the Franco-ontarien culture is threatened very concretely by this process of attrition, politely called assimilation, which flows from the oppression of the Franco-ontariens as a minority people.

The plight of the Franco-ontariens cannot be separated from the longstanding oppression of the Quebecois nation. And the growing militancy of Franco-ontariens in defense of their language — the determination to fight back so eloquently and militantly demonstrated in Sturgeon Falls — is undoubtedly inspired by the Quebecois struggle.

In Sturgeon Falls, the giant Abitibi corporation says that its mill there is losing money and cannot afford any more school taxes. What a farce — this corporation which sweats the cheap labor of thousands of francophone workers can't afford its contribution towards the education of the next generation! There can only be one reply from the local school board. "Let's see your books; all of them — not just those of the local mill, but the whole corporation."

The oppression and assimilation of Franco-ontariens silhouettes the oppression of their Quebecois relatives. It is not surprising that when the battlelines of resistance are drawn that they rest, both in Quebec and now in Ontario on the language question — the defense of the French language in both education and at work. The powerful and massive demonstrations in defense of French language rights this October in Montreal will surely inspire Franco-ontariens to stiffen their own resistance to the destruction of their language and culture.

labor Challenge

Workers can prevent closure

Make Tely a labor daily

by The Editors

The Toronto Telegram is to close. More than a thousand skilled workers will be out on the streets by the end of October.

John Bassett, owner of the Tely, who gave no warning of his move (he appeared at midnight in the newsroom to hand the editors a story for the next edition — the closure announcement), is now liquidating the paper rapidly. In an obviously pre-arranged deal the Telegram's chief rival, the Star, has bought the Tely subscription lists and leaased the ultra-modern printing plant in order to block the establishment of any other afternoon daily in the city.

For his cooperation, the Star has handsomely rewarded Bassett: it paid him $10 million allegedly for the subscription lists, of dubious commercial value.

How can the shutdown be blocked? Bassett is proceeding rapidly to sell the rest of the Tely assets, piece by piece. Soon little will remain of what was once Canada's third-largest daily.

Union spokesman Robert Pryor declared that Tely employees will stage mass demonstrations in Ottawa and at Queen's Park, demanding government action against the closure. The NDP has also attacked the shutdown. Ontario leader Stephen Lewis stated that if the NDP is elected in the Oct. 21 provincial election, he would intervene to force Bassett (who owns a multi-million dollar corporate empire) to disclose his finances, and to justify the shutdown.

Federal NDP leader David Lewis suggested that the Tely workers establish a cooperative to run the paper. Toronto Newspaper Guild president Marc Zwelling, a Telegram reporter, raised the same idea.

Establishment voices "deplore" the Tely closing. They worry aloud over the **disappearance of competition between the** papers, over the Star's monopoly position. What hypocrisy! The two papers only competed on a narrow, commercial plane. The essential **content** of the two papers was the same. Both lied about labor's struggles; both supported the bosses at every turn; both fought the NDP. They are boss papers, million-dollar enterprises that did not hesitate to unite to smash the newspaper unions that went on strike in 1964.

But there can be an alternative to the absolute monopoly of the big-business press that suppresses, distorts and lies about the key issues before workers, that imbues them with prejudice and discourages attempts at change. As Lewis and Zwelling suggest, labor can launch its own paper to challenge the bosses' daily propaganda. A labor daily newspaper which defends the rights of working people would be a key instrument of political education and action for millions of Canadians.

A labor daily would have impact well beyond Toronto and even beyond the industrial heartland of Southern Ontario.

What could be a more practical proposal? With the Tely shut-down imminent, all the necessary equipment and skills now become available. The money can also be raised to buy out Bassett. Union auditors estimate the worth of the Tely at about $13 million. Telegram workers already possess a substantial down payment towards that sum, in the form of at least $3 million in severance pay, pension money, and other benefits owed them by Bassett. The labor movement can make up the difference. It could dip into the millions of dollars the unions have invested in bonds and on the stock market; it could begin a campaign for contributions; loans could be floated; there are many possibilities.

In Quebec, a mass labor paper has existed for two years. Quebec-Presse, published weekly by the labor movement, plays an important role defending the workers' struggle and exposing the lies of the boss press. A labor daily could do much, much more.

Will the Tely shutdown be only another plant closure, forcing some 1,200 skilled workers to join the ranks of the unemployed? Or will it be the occasion for a big step forward for the entire labor movement? That is the challenge!

LABOR PRESS IN ACTION. Quebec-Presse, Quebec's mass circulation labor-backed weekly.

LA LIBRE
Pour ceux qui en ont plein le dos
A l'heure de l'offensive finale
La province entière appuie les journalistes
Sur la tragédie de Ste-Thérèse, le coroner aujourd'hui conclura : "cause inconnue"

LABOR DAILY. Strikers at Montreal's La Presse in 1964 published a daily newspaper, La. . .Libre, for a while.

labor Challenge #40 Sept 1971

Answers to some objections

Why abortion is a woman's right

by Lis Angus

Many different forces are coming together to work out a united campaign to repeal the abortion laws. In the course of this campaign, two different views are being expressed on the slogan "abortion: a woman's right to choose." These two views represent fundamentally different approaches to the struggle.

Feminists should be prepared to deal with the questions that are being raised, a number of which are discussed here.

"I don't believe the decision to have an abortion should be entirely up to the woman. What about the prospective father — surely he has some rights too?"

Pregnancy — physically and psychically a very demanding experience — is borne entirely by the woman. It is her body from which the fetus must draw nutrition. It is she who risks side effects such as morning sickness or swollen legs or more serious complications. It is she who has to give up her job. It is she who will have to undergo labor. Most importantly, it is she who, for the next eighteen or so years, will have the primary responsibility for the care of that child. Pregnancy means that a woman must reorganize her entire life to center around the needs of a growing child. The implications of pregnancy are long-term and far-reaching.

If she is unable or unwilling to accept all the pressures and strains of motherhood, no one else — not even her husband — has the right to impose a pregnancy on her against her will.

She may of course consult the opinions and feelings of her husband, her parents, her friends — but this is up to her. None of these people have the right to make the decision for her.

"But what about her doctor? No other medical procedures are decided entirely by the patient — you can't just walk in and demand a tonsillectomy, for example. The decision is jointly made by the patient and the doctor."

There are important differences between a condition like tonsillitis and pregnancy. For one thing, it is possible to have only a slight case of tonsillitis, when it may be advisable to try to reduce the infection rather than remove the tonsils, as is sometimes necessary when they are severely infected. But it is not possible to be slightly pregnant. A doctor can tell a woman whether or not she is pregnant; but he can't tell her whether or not the pregnancy is desirable. Only she knows whether or not she wants a child. Once she has made the decision, it is the doctor's responsibility to give her competent medical assistance, or direct her to such assistance. This should be the extent of the doctor's involvement in the decision.

"I think that abortion should be purely a matter of private conscience for the individuals involved."

Certainly. No woman who wants to continue her pregnancy should be under any pressure to have an abortion. No doctor or nurse who objects to performing or assisting in abortions should be forced to do so.

However, every woman who does decide to have an abortion has the right to receive one. No one else's moral opinions can be allowed to interfere with this right.

This means that a doctor who refuses to perform abortions should be required to refer the woman to colleagues who will. He or she has no right to prevent a woman from obtaining an abortion if she wants one; their only right should be to decide whether they will perform it.

Furthermore, no hospital receiving public funds has the right to deny use of its facilities for abortions, no matter what the private opinions of its staff members or advisors. Otherwise, all women served by that hospital are denied the opportunity of choosing abortions.

"But if abortion is left entirely up to the woman, won't abortion be used as a method of birth control?"

A woman has the right to choose any mtehod of birth control she desires. She may, if she so wishes use the method of abortion. In any case, the authorities have so far refused to devote the necessary resources to developing a completely safe and effective means of birth control; they do not even make the currently developed methods available to all women.

All the above questions cut against the main objective of our struggle: the right of all women to abortion on demand. Our goal is not just liberalization of the present anti-abortion laws, nor are we fighting for abortion law repeal because the law isn't being respected or because repeal is the better of two evils. We concede nothing to the opinion that abortion is essentially a bad thing. We are fighting for repeal, for abortion on demand, because it is necessary if women are to gain any control over their own lives.

As long as abortion is not available as a woman's right, she faces the constant threat of unwanted pregnancy. As long as she has no control over pregnancy, she has no possibility of planning her life.

This factor — her susceptability to pregnancy — has served as the rationale for the injustices and inequalities women face in all areas of society. It is used to justify discrimination against women in the labor market and the educatiinal system. Winning the right to abortion will cut across this network of myths and prejudices, and provide the basis for further advances.

FOR ABORTION ON DEMAND. Demonstration in Ottawa, 1970.

advertisement

Velvet Fist

Current issue includes extensive report on abortion debate and campaign for repeal of abortion laws; also features articles on socialization of women.

Send $2.00 for ten issues to Velvet Fist, 188 Adelaide St. W., Toronto.

labor Challenge #40 Sept 1971

Local coalitions building campaign

by Donna Nelson

The campaign to repeal the abortion laws has now moved into high gear. The cross-country campaign will be publicly launched at a press conference in Ottawa Sept. 23 with the announcement of a petition demanding abortion law repeal, which will be circulated across the country.

Present at the news conference will be New Democrat Grace MacInnis, the only woman member of parliament. She has a bill pending in the house which would repeal the abortion laws. Other participants will include Lore Perron of the Association to Repeal Abortion Laws, Robert Kaplan, Liberal MP for North York and representatives from the abortion law repeal coalitions in Toronto and Montreal.

Many areas are forming broad coalitions with the purpose of uniting all women to map out a strategy to build a powerful long-range campaign against the government. Several of these coalitions will be launched by the convening of democratic, decision-making conferences to decide on action over the coming months. The following are abridged notes from our correspondents on the campaign's progress.

Ontario: A Women's Abortion Action Conference has been called for Saturday, Oct. 2. Women from across the province will meet in Toronto for the all-day conference and through a series of plenary and workshop sessions decide on how to build the abortion law repeal campaign over the coming months.

The conference was called by the Ontario Women for an Abortion Law Repeal Coalition. Some of the initial sponsors include Doris Anderson, Editor, Chatelaine; Association for Repeal of Canadian Abortion Laws; June Callwood; Dorothy Martin, President, Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario; Lorna Grant, Toronto Women's Caucus; Esther Greenglass; Planned Parenthood Association; Laura Sabia; and the National Council of Jewish Women.

The coalition now has a functional office in downtown Toronto and a full-time organizer on staff to build the conference. As well, a tour of Ontario cities is underway to mobilize women from across the province to come into Toronto on Oct. 2. Thousands of pieces of literature publicizing the conference are being circulated and a button will be available whortly. The conference is for women only. The coalition's address and phone number are: P.O. Box 5673, Station A, Toronto. Tel. 863-9773.

Montreal: A French-language coalition has been formed and is organizing a conference for Oct. 23. Among initial sponsors is Pauline Julien, well-known Quebecois singer. Publicity is going up on the major French campuses.

An English-language coalition, Montreal Women's Coalition for Abortion Repeal, has an office in the YWCA. This coalition will hold a conference late in October and will be sending representatives to the Toronto conference. The student newspaper The Georgian reports that the coalition is "planning to bring the abortion issue into public focus through open meetings, debates, leafletting, and the mass media." They can be contacted c o YWCA, 1355 Dorchester W. Montreal, 866-9941 ext. 44.

GRACE MacINNIS, (NDP), has put bill before parliament calling for repeal of anti-abortion laws.

Manitoba: The Winnipeg Abortion Action Committee is scheduling a meeting to form a coalition on Sept. 22. They are already circulating a petition for abortion law repeal. For further information contact 122-251 Broadway Ave., Winnipeg.

Saskatoon: A preliminary meeting to plan the abortion campaign has been called and there has been an excellent response from interested organizations and individuals.

British Columbia: B.C. Women for an Abortion Law Repeal Coalition are holding a conference on Oct. 3. This conference is being well publicized outside of Vancouver, where the conference is being held, and organizers have obtained two hours of a phone-in radio show to publicize the conference the week before it takes place. Local newspapers have also given wide publicity to the coalition, which now has an office and a full-time staff worker. The theme of the conference is "Let Women Decide — Repeal Abortion Laws Now". A special evening session will be open to men. The Coalition's address is: 889 Helmcken St., Vancouver. Tel. 687-4309.

United States: The Women's National Abortion Action Coalition has issued an appeal for international actions on Nov. 20. The appeal reads in part: "In the United States, women from many backgrounds are uniting in the fight for the right to abortion. On Nov. 20 we will march in massive numbers on Washington, D.C. and San Francisco to demand the repeal of all abortion laws, with no forced sterilization and the repeal of all anti-contraception laws.

"We call on our sisters around the world to unite with us on that day — to bring our power together, to let the world hear in one united voice and many languages our slogan: "Abortion: A Woman's Right to Choose". When we join together throughout the world, no force can stop us until we win."

labor Challenge #140 Sept 1971

Unite in action to win abortion

by the Women's Commission of the League for Socialist Action-Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere

On Oct. 2-3 women's conferences will take place in three major Canadian cities — Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver — bringing together women from all walks of life to launch a united campaign for repeal of the abortion laws. These conferences, which promise to be truly representative of the wide range of individuals and organizations that have taken a stand for repeal, will undoubtedly mark a historic milestone along the road towards the removal of the abortion laws from the Criminal Code.

The resignation of Manitoba's Highways minister Joe Borowski from the NDP government as a result of public reaction against his attacks on the pro-abortion campaign provides a vivid example of the movement's capacity to win victories. The conferences face the challenge of carrying the struggle forward to further victories; of building an ongoing movement which, through speakouts, meetings, petition campaigns and demonstrations, is constantly rallying together the massive sentiment that now exists for repeal into a strong and visible force that will shake that seat of power on Parliament Hill.

The discussions at the conferences will no doubt be rich and varied, reflecting the broad range of participants. Many viewpoints will be expressed and many proposals discussed. There will be high school students and university professors, members of the Liberal party and of the NDP, socialists and women from church groups, feminists and women who have not yet come across the feminist movement. The conference proceedings should allow for full democratic discussion by all participants, so that these broad forces can be united in a single movement — unified behind the conference decisions on the campaign.

Pressures will no doubt exist to divide the participants from each other. We must not give in to them. It is only through a united campaign based on our common agreement on the need for abortion law repeal and on our common determination to struggle for this goal, that we can ever win this victory.

The campaign which the conferences will launch can have a powerful impact on Canadian society. Women who are alienated from one another today will discover the power of sisterhood, their strength when they unite together in struggle. This campaign will be the precursor of important battles that lie before us — for government-financed 24-hour child-care centers, for equal pay for equal work, for an end to the discrimination women face in all areas of society — on the road to our liberation.

Italian socialist questions view of women's liberation

Mailbag

Rome, Italy

I would like to inform you of a few details on the Italian women's liberation movement which Ross Dowson touched on in his article appearing in the Aug. 9 issue of Labor Challenge.

The Italian movement for women's liberation is not a real political movement. It contains some groups of different tendencies which blew apart last spring. They are now fighting each other on matters which have nothing to do with the class struggle.

They are basically petty-bourgeois groups with a sort of charismatic leader in the micro-Radical party, certainly outside the development of the Italian left.

The re-aligned revolutionary socialist left will have to come to grips with women's liberation but right now it is trying to channel the struggle into more direct political issues.

Edgardo Pellegrini
Editor Bandiera Rossa
monthly of the GCR, Italian section of the Fourth International

P.S. Italian anti-abortion law no longer appears under that section of the Criminal Code entitled "crimes against integrity and health of the race".

Ross Dowson replies:

Each year in Italy, some 20,000 women die from botched-up abortions. This death toll, largely from the ranks of working class women, is the result of laws sustained by the capitalist system and one of its chief bulwarks, the Roman Catholic hierarchy, that deprive them of an elementary right — by making abortions illegal.

Across the world women are moving into struggle. A key demand that is mobilizing them, that is bringing them into the political, the anti-capitalist struggle, is control over their own bodies — abortion on demand.

Are the massive but completely politically bankrupt "socialist" and "communist" parties going to continue to be able to decide what are and what are not political issues — at great cost to the entire working class? Perhaps it will be women who will play the key role in that decision in Italy.

Ross Dowson

labor Challenge

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labor Challenge #40 Sept 1971

Socialists plan campaigns

by Rene Courtney

The central committee of the League for Socialist Action-Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere met in a plenary conference in Toronto Aug. 28-29. Plenums of the cross-country leadership are held periodically between conventions of the LSA-LSO to assess the organizational and political tasks of the movement and to facilitate the implementation of convention policies.

The August plenum stood on the shoulders of the big achievement of the Waterloo Socialist Educational Conference, organized by the YS-LJS and the LSA-LSO. That conference, attended by some 450 activists, marked gains for revolutionary socialists in every radicalizing sector of Canadian society.

The plenum mapped out plans for the participation of Canadian Trotskyists in the mass campaigns this fall. The agenda included reports and discussions on the women's liberation movement and the campaign for repeal of anti-abortion laws; the antiwar movement and the November demonstrations against the war; the New Democratic Party and its left wing the Waffle grouping; the Young Socialists and the Canadian student movement; and the Gay liberation movement.

Members of the Quebec national committee of the LSO reported on the work of revolutionary socialists in the campaign to defend French language rights.

Two major items of the plenum were an International report and a discussion on the building of the revolutionary socialist press in Canada and Quebec.

Ross Dowson, executive secretary of the LSA-LSO, who recently spent five months in Europe reported on the work of various sections of the Fourth International. He reported the rapidly growing support for Trotskyism among the European radical youth, shown especially in the big growth of the French Ligue Communiste since the 1968 May upsurge. He also reported on the discussions currently proceeding within the Fourth International on several international questions.

The plenum laid plans for the participation of the members of the LSA-LSO in support of the joint subscription drive launched by the editors of the Quebec independentist paper Liberation, the Young Socialist and Labor Challenge. The plenum agreed to accept these drives as the biggest challenge facing revolutionary socialists in Canada this fall — the most efficient and lasting means of spreading a socialist program within the current radicalization.

The press discussion was inspired by achievements already recorded in other areas of socialist publications — the growth of Editions d'Avant-Garde which has brought out four new pamphlets in French of importance to the revolutionary movement in Quebec and internationally; the launching at Waterloo of a quarterly theoretical journal of revolutionary socialism to appear this winter; and the continuing expansion of Crescent Publications in Canada which distributes socialist and radical literature from Monthly Review Press (New York), Pathfinder Press (New York) and Vanguard Publications (Toronto).

The attendance at the plenum itself testified to the growth of the LSA-LSO. Central Committee members were present from every area of the country, including all the members of the Quebec national committee of the LSO. Three members of the central office leadership of the YS-LJS also attended as observers.

The plenum heard greetings from representatives of the French Ligue Communiste, the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, and the New Zealand Socialist Action League.

Alta. native youth unite

EDMONTON — Young native people from across Alberta met at Camp Gold Eye Lake Aug. 23-27 for an All-Nature Youth Conference.

The conference established the United Native Youth of Alberta, pledged to fight to maintain the aboriginal, treaty and human rights of native people. Policies adopted by the conference include: a commitment to "the development of total native control of our lives, social, economical, cultural and political."

The conference was also attended by young native militants from Quebec, Ontario and Vancouver.

Among them was Mike Mitchell, a Mohawk from the St. Regis reserve near Cornwall, Ont. He explained the role of native youth in developing the rights movement:

"When we were elected to the band council, the people who elected us trusted us to do good things for them. As members of the band council, we then asked the federal government's Department of Indian Affairs to help us, but all they did was to hassle us with red tape, and when they did give us some assistance, some got more than others. This, we decided, was bad.

"As a band council we decided to lead our people to taking back lands which are rightfully ours. We showed our people that only they can do things for themselves, that no one else will do it for them. Now we are fighting for our treaty rights and for our own schools."

Henry Jack, a Shuswap Indian from the Vancouver Indian Movement, explained how they developed a self-reliant leadership. "When we first started out, we were thoroughly disgusted with the situation of our people. We held demonstrations and made press releases, which meant that we had to speak in public and explain our issues. . .We had to try to find a meaningful solution to our situation."

His group had changed in significant ways: "Once women in our group were referred to as chicks or broads. Then, they demanded equal treatment or else, they said, they would split from the group. Since then we have started to refer to women as sisters."

—Alden Sawyer

labor Challenge #40 Sept 1971

Drive for 4,000 new readers

Off to a good start!

by Peter Sharpe
Cross-Canada sub drive director

There has never been a subscription drive like this one. It's an invigorating experience participating in the selling of subs, talking with new subscribers and, most stimulating of all, tabulating the subs that pour in from all over Canada and from the U.S., England, and as far away as New Zealand. The box on this page tells the story in graphic detail: 607 subs sold in the first week of the drive!

When the subscription drive was announced at the Waterloo Socialist Educational Conference, we projected the biggest drive in the history of the revolutionary press in Canada — 4,000 new readers to be gained in a joint effort between Labor Challenge, Young Socialist and Liberation in the period between Sept. 15 and Nov. 20.

This ambitious 10-week campaign meant winning 400 new readers a week for the length of the drive. Well, we got off to an aggressive start with 15 percent of the subs sold in the first week. How did we do it?

There is no magic formula, but the reports from St. Catharines and Ottawa, the two areas that have already reached over 50 percent of their goal, tell us how they did it. They got an early start: as soon as the campuses opened, they were there in the registration lineups. Students bought subs as part of their going back to school. They felt they needed something to offset their textbooks and boring lectures. Phase two of the campus campaign is a blitz of the dormitories. This is being followed up with door-to-door sales in the city. In Ontario a special effort is now underway to reach NDP supporters during the provincial election campaign.

Our aim is to achieve the goal of 4,000 subs by any means necessary, and already some new innovations have proven successful. A special team of top sub-getters attended the Socialist Workers Party convention in Oberlin, Ohio and sold 125 subs there. Don Tapscott, Young Socialist Southern Ontario organizer, is the top sub-getter to date, sending in 53 subs from the campuses he has visited, and Bert from Ottawa is close behind with 51 subs. The editors of the three papers have agreed to award a special prize to the top sales person.

It's been an interesting week: The Telegram, Canada's third largest newspaper has announced that it's folding. It couldn't survive in a system that puts profits above telling its readers the truth. And as more and more people become aware of the lies and distortions in the big-business press, they are turning to the socialist press for the truth.

The revolutionary socialist press, Labor Challenge, Young Socialist and Liberation, are not only able to maintain their subscription base but are able to project the biggest sub drive in their history because our press is written by activists in the mass movements. Our press intervenes in all of these developing movements: women's liberation, anti-war, campus, trade unions, Quebec liberation and the New Democratic Party. Our press does not comment from the sidelines; it is an integral part of these movements and a major builder of them. So it is quite logical that as the radicalization deepens among women, youth, workers and Quebecois, it is reflected in a larger circulation of our press.

This process was evident during the post-war strike wave. In 1945 Labor Challenge won 604 new subscribers, in 1946, 921 and in 1947 our biggest drive achieved 1,267 new subscribers.

Only in 1970 did we surpass that high point. Together with drives by Young Socialist and Liberation, we signed up 2,276 new readers, almost double the 1947 figure. This year, we are aiming for almost twice as many subscribers as we got last year.

And, if we can judge by this week's results, we are going to make it.

Scoreboard

	Quota	sold	Percent
St. Catharines	100	81	81
Ottawa	150	76	51
Hamilton	100	31	31
Vancouver	600	80	13
Saskatoon	150	17	12
Toronto	1,100	126	11
Sudbury	50	4	8
Halifax	100	6	6
York	100	6	6
Victoria	25	1	4
Waterloo	120	2	2
Montreal	400	3	1
Edmonton	200	1	1
Winnipeg	125	+	—
Guelph	40	+	—
Peterborough	125	+	—
Richmond Hill	40	+	—
Hull	70	+	—
Fredericton	100	+	—
Barrie/Orillia	10	4	40
Foreign	150	134	89
General	155	35	23
TOTALS	4,000	607	15

+ No report yet

Antiwar tour organizes for mass protests

by Carl Fleming

The fall campaign against Nixon and Trudeau's Vietnam war is getting underway.

In Ontario, the Vietnam Mobilization Committee is planning a rally in Toronto on Sept. 24, where Steve Penner and Dan Heap, NDP candidates in the upcoming provincial election will speak. Also addressing the rally will be Jerry Gordon, national coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition in the U.S., and George Addison, executive secretary of the Vietnam Mobilization Committee.

George Addison will be speaking in various centers over the next month as part of his cross-country building tour for the mobilizations. He will address four regional conferences of antiwar activists in the coming two weeks, in Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Edmonton and Vancouver.

These regional conferences will draw together activists to discuss and lay definite plans for the Nov. 6 mass mobilizations in every region.

Attractive brochures and posters will be available from the Vietnam Mobilization Committee shortly.

GEORGE ADDISON. Antiwar leader tours Canada.

Ont. election: NDP vs. Big Business

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labor Challenge

Vol. 2, No. 19 (41) October 11, 1971 15 cents

Build Nov. 3 & 6 antiwar marches

page 4

Stop the Amchitka bomb test!

BULLETIN (Oct. 6) — Thousands of Vancouver-area students demonstrated for two hours today at the U.S. consulate against the Amchitka nuclear test. Duncan McLean, a Young Socialist and spokesman for the Student Action Committee on Amchitka, organizers of the demonstration, estimated more than 10,000 high school students walked out of classes to attend the protest.

by Gary Porter

VANCOUVER — "Stop the Bomb!" That is the cry being raised throughout British Columbia and now spreading right across Canada as the days and hours slip by and the date for the explosion of a nuclear bomb at Amchitka draws nearer.

Despite mounting international protests, Nixon has declined to cancel the underwater test and has merely postponed it until the conclusion of the visit of Soviet premier Kosygin to Canada this month.

The proposed blast, allegedly to test the warhead for a new antiballistic missile, will be 250 times more powerful than the one which destroyed Hiroshima. The last Amchitka test in 1969 was followed a week later by a severe earthquake in Asia and a milder one in California; the blast area lies on a series of faults in the earth's crust and could very possibly lead to more quakes. In addition there is the very real danger of radiation leaks, which have occurred in a quarter of all underground tests conducted in Nevada.

Tens of thousands of British Columbians oppose the test because they oppose nuclear weapons.

Opposition to the test has come from labor organizations, community groups, student organizations, municipal bodies and even the Vancouver Real Estate Board (fearing property damage from a tidal wave, no doubt).

Students have taken the initiative in organizing mass protest demonstrations. On Sept. 24, almost 3,000 blocked U.S. border crossings. About 1,200 high school students from Burnaby marched more than five miles to the U.S. consulate in downtown Vancouver.

Since then, high school students have been in the forefront. Following initiatives by activists in Students Against the War in Vietnam (SAWV) and the Young Socialists who proposed massive high school walkouts against the Amchitka test, student representatives of vartious schools formed a walkout committee. A student referendum in one high school resulted in a 93.4 percent vote for walkout.

SAY NO TO THE BOMB. Students from Vancouver-area schools picket U.S. consulate to protest Nixon's planned nuclear test at Amchitka Island. Wave of walkouts has swept B.C. schools as public revulsion against the explosion spreads across Canada.

Women unite for abortion law repeal

page 3

labor Challenge

Campaign polarizes

Jobs, U.S. control major NDP issues

CAMPAIGNING. Ontario NDP leader Stephen Lewis talks with party supporters in Waterloo.

by Anne Macdonald

TORONTO — "Until now, I've always voted Conservative," said the middle-aged woman as she accepted the NDP campaign leaflet from the canvasser. "But this time I'm going to read what you have to say."

While she did not seem to have changed her mind for sure, it was clear she was considering it. Confronted by growing inflation, unemployment and pollution, many more voters can't help but consider a similar change in attitude for the Oct. 21 Ontario election.

The election campaign has become a confrontation between the two big business parties, Conservatives and Liberals, with their massive image-oriented public relations gimmicks — and the New Democratic Party which has mobilized thousands of workers to carry the NDP message to the voters.

The Tory government is estimated to be spending upwards of four million dollars. Naturally they refuse to reveal the amount or the sources for their election fund. One known source of big business campaign funds, however, is the Insurance Agents' Association which has placed a $50 per levy on its members and is aiming to rai se at least $135,000 for an advertising campaign against the NDP whose proposals for a government-run, no-fault car insurance scheme threaten the huge profits of the insurance monopolies.

The NDP has already made public an itemized accounting of where its $700,000 campaign fund comes from — almost all of it from working people, through trade unions and riding associations and none from big business. According to party sources, over 8,000 workers were active in the campaign during the first week — and the number is rising as students and trade union members swing behind the party as never before.

Of particular interest is the party's identification with particularly oppressed sectors of the population now moving out in struggle for their rights. Speaking to a meeting of the Ontario Union of Indians, Lewis outlined a far-reaching program of support for Indian claims of treaty and aboriginal rights, Indian control over disposal of federal and provincial funds for Indian community development, unrestricted hunting and fishing rights for Indians and education of Indian children in Indian language, culture and history. Indian leaders applauded warmly, saying, "What you propose fits in perfectly with what we are trying to do for Indian people in Ontario and Canada."

Speaking to Franco-Ontariens in Iroquois Falls, Lewis expressed the NDP's support for demands by the 600,000 Franco-Ontariens for a much greater direct say in their own educational system. The NDP, he declared, is committed by convention resolutions to assure Franco-Ontariens that "they need have no fear of assimilation because of the inadequacy of laws or institutions."

Not so well-publicized — either by the media or the party leadership — is the NDP's program for women's rights. It calls for day-care facilities for all children, an end to job and wage discrimination, an end to bias against women in the educational course content and for women's right to abortion.

More and more U.S. subsidiaries are laying off workers in response to President Nixon's import surtax and other measures. The NDP has been making U.S. control of the economy a major issue. The growing public concern about foreign ownership tends logically to be translated into support for the NDP, since it alone — as a party free of big business ties — can even attempt to provide a solution. Unfortunately, Lewis' insistence that he does not envisage public ownership as the key means of regaining control, cuts across the programmatic clarity which the NDP could shed on this vital question.

If the party's equivocation on public ownership hinders it from most effectively posing the class alternatives in this election, it can be said that its stand in support of extending public tax support to Catholic high schools represents a most self-defeating electoral opportunism. NDP canvassers report that many former party supporters are so upset by the NDP's backing of a religion-dominated school system that they are even threatening not to vote NDP.

The only hopeful sign so far of a breach in the NDP candidates' support for Catholic school aid occurred when York West (Toronto) candidate Ted Culp personally dissociated himself from the party's official policy — before a Catholic high school student audience. Despite jeers and heckling, Culp affirmed that many party members agree with him and also went on to defend the NDP's support of abortion law repeal.

Women's liberation activists are intervening in the campaign, challenging the candidates to declare their support for abortion law repeal and in particular to publicize the projected Nov. 20 rally in Ottawa.

Antiwar activists are encouraging NDP candidates to speak out against the Indochina war by explaining the role that the U.S. war in Vietnam has played in provoking the present economic crisis, layoffs and unemployment.

The campaigns of the few NDP candidates who support the left-wing "Waffle" grouping generally deal more fully with the major economic and social issues, expressing more accurately the program of the party as adopted in convention. But they, too, have so far not campaigned actively around such questions as the war and women's rights. It remains to be seen whether the Wafflers' campaigns will move out to take advantage of the possibilities to use the election campaign to educate the voters on the broadest range of issues.

An important aspect of the campaign is the work of the Young Socialists, the revolutionary student organization, in support of the NDP. The YS is distributing 35,000 leaflets to high school and university students across the province calling on them to vote and work for the NDP. The YS is also building mass rallies of Youth for the NDP in cities such as Toronto, Ottawa, Hamilton and Peterborough.

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Women unite for right to abortion

by Joan Newbigging

TORONTO, Oct. 3 — The Ontario Women's Abortion Action Conference held here yesterday, was an historic occasion. Bringing together over 180 women from across Ontario and from a broad spectrum of organizations, it launched the Ontario Women's Abortion Law Repeal Coalition. In its representativity, unity and enthusiasm, the conference marked an enormous advance in the struggle for abortion law repeal in Canada.

The conference overwhelmingly adopted the theme "Abortion: a woman's right to choose" and approved two initial projects to begin the campaign: a mass assembly and demonstration in Ottawa on Nov. 20 and a Canada-wide petition campaign to be continued throughout the winter.

There was a broad representation at the conference of those forces which have taken a stand for repeal. There were women from the United and Anglican churches; from the New Democratic Party and the Liberal party; from campuses and high schools across Ontario; socialists, feminists, women who had struggled for years for their rights and young women who were new to this movement. Together they laid a firm basis for a powerful campaign which will have a resounding impact on Canadian society.

The breadth of support for this campaign was clearly indicated in the greetings brought to the conference by a number of prominent Canadian women. Eleanor Pelrine, author of Abortion in Canada and Dr. Marion Powel, Medical Officer for the Scarborough Board of Health, both strongly identified themselves with the aims of the conference. Ruth Evans, of the Association for the Repeal of Canadian Abortion Laws and chairwoman of the United Church Committee on Abortion, declared her support for the campaign.

The spirit of the conference was captured by Laura Sabia, chairwoman of the National Ad Hoc Committee on the Status of Women, which represents two million Canadian women, when she declared: "I'm sick and tired of the inseminators making the decisions about abortion....up to now we've been struggling as individuals. Now it's time to get together and work together for one thing: that women get to make their own decisions!"

Representatives from abortion repeal coalitions and groups in B.C., Saskatoon, Winnipeg and Montreal also participated, demonstrating to the conference participants that they are part of a dynamic cross-country campaign. A representative of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition reported on the growing movement for repeal in the United States.

In addition women from the New Democratic Party, the Liberal party, the Toronto Women's Caucus and the Women's Liberation Movement Abortion and Birth Control Collective, extended greetings to the conference.

A major discussion at the conference centred around the policy statement, presented by Wendy Johnston, staff co-ordinator of the conference. This called for the formation of a women's coalition around the demand of repeal of the abortion laws. Two amendments were added to this by the participants calling for federal legislation to ensure a woman's right to abortion and any other legal safeguards deemed necessary by the coalition's Ontario Co-ordinating Committee.

The primary motivation behind the amendments was a fear that once the laws were repealed, backward provincial legislatures might step in with new anti-abortion laws. But there were many facets to the discussion on the policy statement: some women were in favor of retaining certain parts of the present laws, others wanted all laws referring to abortion eliminated; some claimed to be legal experts, the majority weren't.

In addition, the discussion revealed a difference between those who saw the laws alone as the ultimate guarantee of our rights and those who rejected this view. As one woman declared at the conference, the only real safeguard of a woman's right to abortion is the building of a women's movement which is strong enough to grasp this right and to hold it.

Throughout the policy debate it was clear that there was a genuine concern on the part of all the participants to find a formula which would unite them all and which would be based on the fundamental thrust of repealing the abortion laws from the Criminal Code.

The final policy statement as adopted by the vast majority of the conference, in calling for repeal and for the federal government to use its authority to guarantee a woman's right to abortion, provided this formula.

The workshop discussions which were interspersed throughout the conference provided the highlights. There, campus and high school activists got together to discuss how to implement the action proposals in their areas; political activists worked out ways of injecting the abortion issue into the Ontario election campaign; women involved in abortion counselling exchanged experiences.

The historic significance of the conference was recognized by Elizabeth Dingman, women's editor of the Toronto Telegram, in a report on the conference: "After watching them in conference at Jarvis Collegiate most of Saturday, I conclude there is no difference but dress between the women fighting for repeal of the abortion laws and those who fought for the vote two and three generations ago. These are the same serious, determined, intelligent women....I conclude that the pro-abortionists, like the suffragists, will win their fight right down the line."

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B.C. coalition is launched

by Beverly Bernardo

VANCOUVER — The B.C. Women's Abortion Law Repeal Coalition was launched here Oct. 2 - 3. A total of 55 women registered for the conference which opened on Saturday night with a panel of speakers giving the case for abortion law repeal.

Phyllis Young, education director for the B.C. Federation of Labor, gave an especially powerful indictment of the present abortion law, comparing it to Bill 33, B.C.'s notorious anti-labor law, claiming that they both violated basic human rights.

Also on the panel were Gwen Dowding, vice-president of the B.C. New Democratic Party, Gina Wyman from the Women's Liberation Alliance, Dr. Molly Powell gynecologist and Linda Meissenheimer, president of the Simon Fraser University Student Society. Meissenheimer dealt particularly with the problem high school and campus women have in gaining access to birth control information and devices and the special problems young women face in obtaining abortions.

The Sunday session of the conference opened with an address by Maryjean Suelzle of the U.S. Women's National Abortion Action Coalition and a board member of the National Organization of Women, who explained the development of the repeal movement in the U.S. and the plans for demonstrations in San Francisco and Washington, D.C., on Nov. 20. She told the conference that the campaign in Canada, especially the May 1970 Abortion Caravan to Ottawa had been an inspiration to the U.S. co-fighters for abortion law repeal.

Sharon Haggar enthused conference participants with her report of the Ontario coalition's conference that she had attended the previous day. Most striking was the breadth of the support that the repeal campaign is developing across the entire country.

photo by MacInnis

LAURA SABIA, addressing Toronto pro-abortion conference, brought support of organizations representing over 2 million women.

The action proposals of the working committee were adopted unanimously. A province-wide petition campaign will be launched for removal of abortion laws from the Criminal Code, as demanded in a private members bill presented in the House of Commons by NDP MP Grace MacInnis. The coalition will also organize a march and rally Nov. 20 demanding repeal of all abortion laws.

The Sunday evening session of the conference, open to men as well as women, was attended by about 75 people. Dr. Robert Makaroff, recently released from jail after serving a sentence for performing an abortion, told women that they could expect support from many men in their fight to repeal the abortion law. Nancy Morrison, a woman lawyer who led a determined but unsuccessful fight to get the Canadian Bar Association to demand abortion law repeal, and a member of the Liberal party, also spoke.

The conference closed with a presentation of a play depicting the plight of women who seek abortions. Performed by the Theater of Seven, the play, which received a fantastic response from the conference, concluded with the singing of "Control of our bodies, control of our lives."

As the conference adjourned, the women left with the determination that united they would win repeal of the abortion laws.

Union studies oppression of women

At its Edmonton convention last month the 156,000 member Canadian Union of Public Employees adopted a report entitled "The Status of Women in CUPE."

The proportion of women in CUPE, 40 percent, is one of the highest of any union. But men dominate CUPE, the report shows.

It notes that there are only two women on the 17-member national executive board; that the executives of some provincial divisions are composed entirely of men; that of 89 CUPE field and educational representatives, only one is a woman; that men held the presidency of more than half the 149 locals in which women are the majority of the membership; but that only one local with a male majority had a woman as president. Only 20 percent of delegates at the convention were women.

Action by the union is required on a broad front, states the report. Women should be represented at every level of the union in approximately equal proportion to their number. Equal pay for equal work is demanded. "All CUPE collective agreements should rule out discrimination in pay based on sex. CUPE locals should negotiate equitable systems of job evaulation that will measure the worth of the job and remove the sex differentiation altogether."

All CUPE collective agreements should allow for at least two months maternity leave, at full pay, and with no loss of position.

Little or no effort has been made by CUPE locals to win day care centers on the job, the report states. CUPE should include the demand in its collective bargaining, and larger locals should look into the feasibility of establishing day care services under direct union control.

Adoption of the report by the CUPE convention marks the first time that a major union has discussed the problem of women's oppression. The challenge before CUPE is to translate the words of the report into action.

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Que. socialist beats police harassment

by John Riddell

MONTREAL, Oct. 4 — The acquittal of John Lejderman by a Montreal municipal court today marked an important victory against the continuing police harassment of the independentist movement here.

Lejderman, a member of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, had been accused of selling Liberation in the street without a permit. A revolutionary socialist monthly, Liberation is a leading force in the movement for an independent and socialist Quebec.

Municipal judge R. Baudette ruled that bylaw 333, under which Lejderman was accused, does not apply to newspaper sales, thus throwing out of court the legal foundation on which scores of radical newspaper salesmen have been arrested over the past four years, and on which several convictions have been registered.

The victory flows from a long battle against attempts by police to censor the radical and nationalist press through selective arrests of newspaper salesmen.

Bylaw 333 become notorious around the case of Logos, an "underground newspaper" that won several judgments from the Quebec superior court against harassment by Montreal police. But despite a well-bankrolled legal defence, Logos was never able to overturn bylaw 333.

More recently, Liberation has been the main victim of this harassment. A score of its militants have been arrested over the past few months, though only in Lejderman's case did the police lay charges.

This has been only one aspect of a continuing police repression of the nationalist movement, which is aided by an atmosphere of somewhat fatalistic acceptance by the greater part of the Quebec left.

A vigorous propaganda campaign by Liberation against these arrests culminated in front of the municipal court minutes before Lejderman's trial this morning, when Liberation salesmen defied police to apply the law.

"Whatever the court decides, we're going to continue our street sales," Lejderman explained to journalists outside the courthouse. "No bylaw can have any validity which restricts freedom of the press and the free exchange of political ideas."

Police officers arrested Liberation salesman Jean Herivault, only to release him without charge after the court's verdict was announced.

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Hugo Blanco exiled to Mexico

by David Montrose

The Peruvian junta of General Velasco has taken advantage of the atmosphere of crisis that it has created by its savage attacks on teachers striking for higher wages to settle accounts with its most prominent opponent on the left. Hugo Blanco, the Trotskyist leader has been deported from his native country secretly and by force. Blanco is now in Mexico with a "visitor" passport hastily and crudely forged for him by the police.

Hugo Blanco came to international attention in 1963 when he organized a land "recuperation" movement among the poor and landless peasants of the south. At that time the wealthy landlords, comprising three percent of the population, controlled 80 percent of the land. Blanco translated the Trotskyist program of mass struggle in accordance with Peruvian conditions. The revolutionary peasant unions led by him engaged in large-scale occupations, moving back onto the land which was legally theirs and refusing to leave.

Blanco became a legendary figure in southern Peru. When he was arrested later in 1963, the city of Cuzco was paralyzed by a 24-hour general strike. Condemned to death, he was finally freed by a massive international defense campaign which won the backing of Amnesty International, the Quebec Federation of Labor, Jean-Paul Sartre, the Italian General Confederation of Labor and many other prominent individuals and organizations.

On Sept. 19, Blanco issued an appeal to the "student and political organizations, the unions and the intellectuals who have in the past been able to stay the murderous hand of the military, to mobilize once again...." He referred particularly to the five leaders of the teachers' union struggle as well as to student leader Ruben Pantoja. The six have not been seen or heard from for over two weeks. The Velasco regime claims to have "deported" them also but there is no information as to their whereabouts.

Hugo Blanco

Another international outcry like the one that saved Blanco's life in the mid-1960's and won him amnesty in 1970, should now be mounted against the regime. Telegrams and letters protesting these repressions can be sent to: Presidente de la Republica del Peru, Gral. Juan Velasco Alvarado, Palacio Gobierno, Lima, Peru.

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The electoral road in action

Is Allende bringing socialism to Chile?

ALLENDE: "the armed forces of Chile are an expression of the people, and therefore are irrevocably and essentially. . .democratic."

photo by Prensa Latina

PEASANTS MARCH FOR LAND. Popular Unity coalition's electoral victory encouraged peasants to take over lands. But Allende has promised to "compensate" landlords, and meanwhile tells peasants to wait. Government has lately begun using force to halt peasant land seizures.

photo by Prensa Latina

SOCIALISM VIA ELECTIONS? Chileans cast ballots on Sept. 4, 1970 when Allende's Popular Unity coalition received plurality of votes. Interspersed through crowd in background are troops of Chile's army, one of largest in Latin America. Like other basic institutions of capitalist rule, army has been left intact by Allende government.

Is Allende bringing socialism to Chile?

The electoral road in action *('Popular front' parliamentarism in action -- Web. Ed.)*

(From Labor Challenge, October 1971)

by Ian Angus

Salvador Allende's "Popular Unity" coalition won the Chilean presidential election more than a year ago. From many accounts appearing in the capitalist daily press, one might be led to believe that a complete socialist transformation was the result of that election. Similar conclusions are suggested by some commentators on the left.

In the September-October issue of *Communist Viewpoint*, *(the Canadian Stalinist journal –ed.)* for example, Canadian Communist party spokesman Sam Walsh argues that the working class is in power in Chile: "Not only did they participate in an election campaign, not only did they organize a united front of the working class (with the participation of the Communist party and the Socialist party) and a common front with parties representing other sections of the population, not only did they decide that they could come to power in the internal and external conditions of Chile without armed struggle (although the Communist party was and remains ready for such an eventuality), but they did in fact come to power. Step by step they are using the state to advance to socialism." *(Pure sophistry from Stalinist Walsh on armed struggle: the CPs in Latin America opposed Guevara's guerrilla strategy and sabotaged his Bolivian front, resulting in his death -- Web. Ed.)*

Truly an impressive achievement! Chile is presented to the world as the first successful instance of a "peaceful transition to socialism," in accordance with the doctrines of Moscow. *(This ironic hailing of Allende's victory based on the then prevailing Stalinist championing of "popular front" -- multi-class coalition -- politics -- Web Ed.)* Similar views that Chile is on the road to socialism under Allende have been expressed by other tendencies and individuals in the Canadian left *('progressives', 'social-democrats'? -- Web Ed.)*

What are the facts? Is Chile on the road to socialism?

Since his election, Allende has implemented a number of important reforms, including widespread wage increases, free milk programs for children, the release of political prisoners, the recognition of Cuba, China and East Germany, the nationalization of much of the mining industry, and the speeding up of land reform.

These reforms have greatly increased Allende's popularity. In the municipal elections last April the Popular Unity coalition received more votes than all of its opponents combined.

Can these reforms to taken as a sign that Chile is moving towards socialism? To answer this question, we must look at the origins and nature of the Allende government. Popular Unity is a coalition of diverse political groups, including the Socialist and Communist parties and a number of capitalist parties, the most important of which is the so-called Radical party. As recently as 1964 the Radical party was in an alliance with the extreme right wing, and was denounced by

Allende for "betrayal" of the Chilean people's interests. The people of Chile, said Allende seven years ago, have "no possibility whatsoever with the Radicals."

It became clear, however, that Socialist party leader Allende would have a good chance of winning the 1970 elections if the Radical party could be persuaded to enter a coalition with the CP and the SP. At the same time sections of the capitalist class in Chile came to see that an electoral coalition offered them the possibility of heading off the deepening radicalization in the country.

"The program of the Popular Unity is not a Communist program," Allende announced when this coalition was formed, "nor is it a Socialist program, nor a Radical program ... It is the convergence of opinion." In other words, it is a lowest-common-denominator program — a program which does not go beyond capitalism.

Allende's election victory was made possible by a split among his opponents. The right-wing National party received 1,036,278 votes. The Christian Democrats, who had been elected in 1964, received 824,849 votes and Allende, 1,075,616. Since no candidate had an overall majority,' the decision was referred to the legislature.

Christian Democrats

The Christian Democratic party is the largest party in the legislature. Without the support of the CDP, Allende could not take office. The CDP demanded that Allende submit to major constitutional amendments before they would support him. These amendments, claimed to "strengthen democracy," were in fact designed to strengthen capitalist rule by strengthening capitalist control of the military and other sections of the state structure.

No military officers were to be appointed who had not attended the exclusive technical academies; no changes were to be made by the president in the size of the navy, army, air force or the national police force; "private" militias were to be banned; Allende was not to tamper with the press, radio, schools, unions, judiciary, etc. After an initial show of indignation, Allende and the Popular Unity accepted all the amendments. As a result, even the National party expressed its "best wishes to the next president of Chile, whose long and proven democratic convictions, reflected in respect for the constitution and the laws, are well known."

And so Allende took office committed to defend a constitution which is based on and protects capitalist property. Just in case there was any doubt about it, he appointed a cabinet in which the capitalist parties of the coalition received a majority of the portfolios (eight of fifteen). The Communist and Socialist parties, the largest parties in the coalition, received three and four portfolios respectively *('Popular-frontism, bourgeois coalition politics with a vengeance: the 'socialist' Allende gave the parliamentary power to the bourgeois parties, while providing popular (left) legitimacy to the project! --Web. Ed.)*

There is no doubt that the Chilean ruling class would have preferred some other, less radical president. But the masses of Chilean workers and peasants would not accept less than Allende at

this time. The six-year Christian Democratic government of Frei was a complete failure at co-opting mass sentiment for radical change.

The Communist and Socialist parties appeared, then, as the saviors of Chilean capitalism. Instead of mobilizing the people for a far-reaching assault on capitalism, they channeled popular discontent into a program which is a "convergence of opinion." It is a measure of the depth of the radicalization that the coalition is as far left as it is. Allende is not leading the Chilean people — he is being pushed by them, resisting all the way. The reforms Allende has instituted are designed not to transform the social structure of Chile, but primarily to strengthen and modernize Chilean capitalism.

Nationalization

One of the most radical of the Popular Unity measures is the nationalization of the mines, especially copper. This step is an important victory for the Chilean people. But it does not change the social structure of Chile any more than Bolivia's nationalization of tin mines in 1953 or *(any more than)* Quebec's nationalization of Hydro in 1962 introduced socialism.

After initially providing for payment of generous compensation terms, the Chilean government has now declared that in the case of two of the largest corporations, Kennecott and Anaconda, it will subtract from that compensation large sums for "excess profits" taken over the last 15 years. Well it might. The giant U.S. corporations have been paid many times over for their original investments in Chile, which amounted to only $3.5 million. The increased value of their holdings has come directly from the labor of the Chilean working people. Meanwhile, literally billions of dollars in profits, interest payments, transfer charges and other hidden payments have flowed out of Chile into the United States. It is precisely this massive capital outflow which has kept Chile underdeveloped. The wealth produced in the country has not been used to develop industry, roads, schools and the like. It has been exported.

The imperialists are uneasy about these nationalizations, but they are accepting them for a number of reasons. One is that the alternative could be a revolutionary explosion. Another is the fact that U.S. corporations generally have been shifting their investments out of raw materials and into manufacturing. About 30 percent of U.S. investment in Chile is now in manufacturing. Allende is not promising to nationalize these investments. His proposed purchases of businesses include fewer than one percent of those operating in Chile. Moreover, the giant imperialist corporations retain control of processing, which is primarily done in North America. And their monopoly control of the world market allows them to continue engaging in monopoly pricing practices.

Land reform

Allende is attempting a similar program with the land reform begun under the Christian Democratic government of Eduardo Frei. He is promising to pay for the land — and meanwhile says that the landless millions of Chile must wait until he raises the money. This land reform is proceeding so slowly that peasants have begun to organize to take over the land, much of which lies fallow to keep prices up,

The so-called Socialist and Communist parties find themselves opposing these popular peasant movements. "These invasions must now cease," declared CP senator Volodia Teitelboim in December. In February special legislation was introduced to punish peasant leaders, and the government has begun recently to use force to drive the peasants off the land.

The Communist party and Allende have repeatedly declared their support of the existing armed forces in Chile. The Chilean armed forces are the largest, compared to population, in Latin America. If there is one lesson that is clear from Latin American history, it is that the army cannot be trusted. Just last month the supposedly "progressive" Bolivian army staged a right-wing coup. In 1954 the Guatemalan army overthrew the reformist Arbenz government, which was strikingly similar to that of Allende. In both cases the resistance struggle of the unarmed people was unsuccessful.

Allende's attitude to the army is typical of his attitude to social change. The basic institutions of capitalist rule are left intact, while a few peripheral reforms are made. Thus he is making no challenge at all to Chile's governmental structure, including it's parliament.

Right wing, support

While attacking the students, peasants and workers for "exorbitant" demands, Allende has received more and more support from capitalist forces. For example, Senator Victor Garcia of the right-wing Nationalist party is a "public-finance" expert aiding the Communist party minister of finance. The right-wing daily *El Mercurio* has declared itself "willing to support change in Chile's social structure and property relations such as Dr. Allende proposes." Even the Nixon government is extending new credits of $5 million 'for military equipment.

In fact Allende's government is not socialist at all. It is another in a long line of "popular fronts" — a type of coalition first proposed by Stalin in the 1930s. These popular fronts place working class parties in alliances with capitalist parties, alliances which the capitalists always dominate. A popular front government in the 1930s delivered the Spanish working class into the hands of fascism. *(The revolutionary tactic of the "United Front" -- the independent coalition of strictly labor and socialist parties, is advocated as the only policy for ensuring the victory of the revolution -- see Leon Trotsky's book "The Spanish Revolution 1931-39 -- on the Stalinist debacle resulting in the victory of fascist General Franco -- Web Ed.)*

More recently, in Indonesia the popular front under Sukarno disarmed the masses politically, paving the way for the massacre of 500,000 people by extreme right-wing forces. A popular front government is even capable of attacking the mass movement directly, as in Ceylon where today a popular front government is; viciously crushing a large-scale rebellion of students and peasants.

The reason for these defeats may be explained simply. The Communist parties propose the popular fronts as a means of gradually moving the country to the left. As the CP's Sam Walsh says, "Step by step they are using the state to advance to socialism." But so long as the capitalist state, military and economic apparatus remains intact, the capitalist parties predominate.

In order to maintain the coalition, the Communist parties do their utmost to keep the workers and peasants in line, to prevent social upheavals. Which is exactly what the capitalist parties want.

To talk about "using the state to advance to socialism" flies in the face of everything Marxism has to say about the nature of social systems and states. "The state" is not neutral, not an empty bottle which can be filled at will with capitalist or socialist content.

The state includes not only the Congress, but also the military, the privileged bureaucracy, the courts, the police, and so on. They are designed to maintain capitalism. To begin the transformation to socialism, it is necessary to dismantle this oppressive apparatus and replace it with institutions responsible to and controlled by the workers and peasants.

Cuba

This is the essential difference between what happened in Cuba, where a genuine socialist revolution occurred, and Allende's Chile. In Cuba, the 26th of July Movement under Fidel Castro's leadership followed up its seizure of power by dismantling the bourgeois army and creating alternative institutions of popular control, the workers' and peasants' militias. By disarming the counterrevolution and arming the supporters of the revolution, the new Cuban government gained an essential base to defend and advance all the subsequent gains of the revolution.

By organizing such institutions in Chile and by arming the people and training them in self-defence, the Communist and Socialist parties could not only initiate the process of socialist transformation, but they could greatly weaken the resistance of the capitalist class.

Instead, however, the Communist and Socialist parties encourage the notion that capitalism has been voted out of office. That combined with the already apparent inability of Allende's government to cope with the real economic and social ills of the country, can lead to demoralization and demobilization of the present radicalization in Chile.

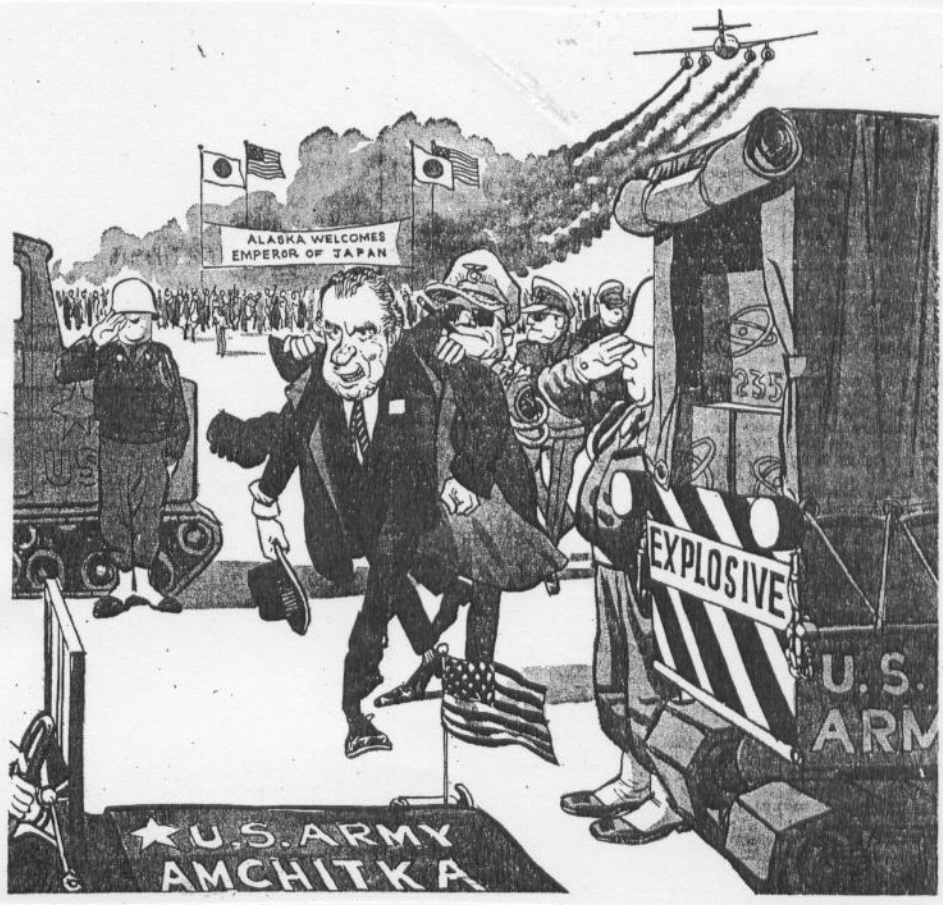
But a left wing is developing within the Socialist party. Unfortunately this left wing, and tendencies to the left of the SP, tend to be confused. The largest of these, the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), a Fidelista grouping *(supporters of Cuban Revolution –ed.), h*as given critical support to the Allende government. Fidel Castro's support to the Allende regime has added to the disorientation of the left.

Only the Trotskyists, both as an independent force and within the SP are helping to bring clarity into this confusion. On the eve of the 1970 election the Chilean Trotskyists wrote:

"If Salvador Allende wins, we will see the formation of a worker-bourgeois coalition government which, under the cover of party politics, will block authentic mass participation in the administration of the country and will defend the capitalist structure....

"The reformist parties refuse to accept the task of arming the people and put all their energy into preventing them from taking up arms. Their refusal to carry out such an urgent task vividly reveals their rejection of revolution.

"The revolutionary vanguard, which has already taken the initiative in this work, will have to raise the level of its activity and extend it, offering the mass movement all its experience and knowledge. By its determination, it will have to carry this process through to its conclusion." This *('united front' policy of independent labor and socialist tendencies – Web Ed)*, not the pro-capitalist Popular Front of Allende, points the way forward for the Chilean masses.



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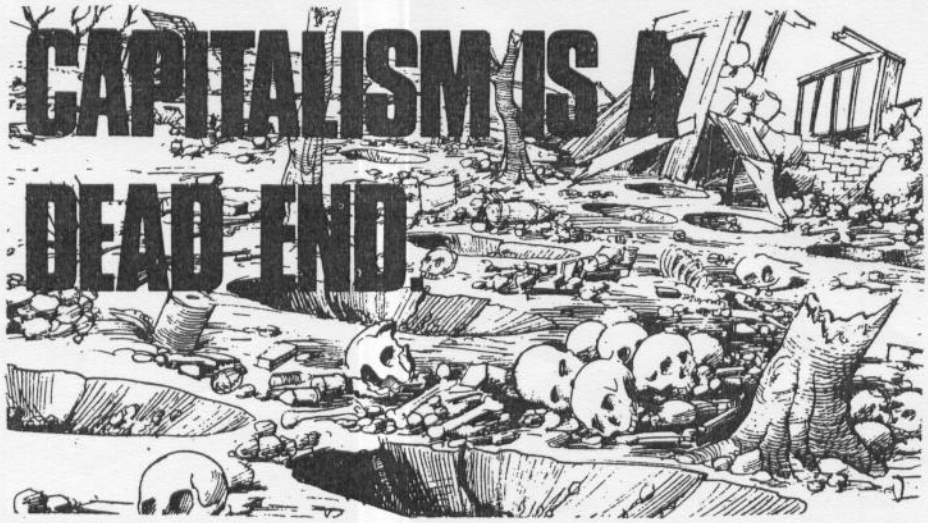

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labor Challenge

Vol. 2, No. 20 (42) October 25, 1971 15 cents

Ernest Mandel on the U.S. drive to war

pages 4-5

Protest the war on Nov. 3, 6

STOP THE AMCHITKA NUCLEAR TEST! 15,000 Vancouver students demonstrate against the bomb Oct. 6 Protests against Canada's complicity in the Vietnam war and against the Amchitka blast will combine in actions on Nov. 3 and 6. See page 8.

BULLETIN — Leaders of the student movement across the country have declared their support for the Nov. 3 and 6 protests against the war in Vietnam and the Amchitka nuclear blast.

Responding to the call for the protests issued by the Alma Mater Society (Student Council) of the University of British Columbia are student councils at McMaster (Hamilton) and York (Toronto) Universities; student presidents of Humber College, Ryerson Polytechnical Institute (both in Toronto) Waterloo University, Simon Fraser University, Champlain College at Trent University in Peterborough, as well as other student leaders.

Nov. 3 has been designated as a student day of protest, with actions on campus, while Nov. 6 will see mass demonstrations in major cities across the country in conjunction with antiwar actions in the U.S. The Nov. 3 actions will build towards large student contingents on Nov. 6.

Impressive support has also come to the anti-war movement from other quarters. B.C. NDP leader Dave Barrett and Burnaby mayor Robert Prittie have become members of the steering committee of the Vancouver Vietnam Action Committee. Ray Haynes, secretary of the B.C Federation of Labor, has urged al affiliated unions to aid and participate in the Nov. 6 protests.

See article page 8

Ontario NDP blocked by Tory demagogy

photo by MacInnis

ONTARIO NDP LEADER Stephen Lewis addresses election night crowd in campaign headquarters.

OCT. 21 — The NDP appears to have replaced the Liberals as official opposition by the narrow one-seat margin (20-19), but failed to make major inroads into Conservative vote support in today's general election in Ontario.

Latest results as we go to press indicate that the Tory Davis government had elected 78, a gain of 11 seats from the previous election in 1967. The NDP lost some seats and gained others for a net loss of one seat.

The NDP's share of the popular vote appears to have held steady and may have increased slightly — just under 30 percent, barely ahead of the Liberals.

The fate of the NDP's crucial 20th seat, which determines its position as the major opposition party in the legislature, hung in the balance tonight as successive late returns swung Toronto-Dovercourt riding results back and forth between NDPer Steve Penner and the Tory candidate. Penner is secretary of the Ontario Waffle, the NDP's left wing.

A candidate for the Communist party in Dovercourt had around 500 votes. (See story page 3).

NDP supporters, disappointed by the party's failure to form the government or score a major electoral breakthrough, will be examining the results closely for the answers, including the effect of the party's support of the extension of public funds to Catholic schools.

The NDP mounted a relatively strong campaign based heavily on the major issues like jobs, U.S. economic domination, the housing crisis, minority rights, etc.

But the alternative it posed was unable to counter the massive barrage of demagogic propaganda from the Tories and the media to the effect that the new "Davis government" was a reform-minded administration.

A full analysis of the Ontario election results will appear in the next issue of Labor Challenge.

labor Challenge #42 Oct 1971

8,000 march for a French Quebec

by Marilyn Raphael

MONTREAL — A week of meetings and teach-ins on campuses in Montreal, Hull, Sherbrooke and Trois-Rivieres, organized by the United Front for the Defense of the French Language, was climaxed when over 8,000 people marched through the streets of Montreal on Oct. 16. The demonstration commemorated the first anniversary of the invocation of the War Measures Act by launching a mass campaign for a French Quebec.

October 15 was organized as a day of teach-ins in the schools against Bills 28 and 63. Both are aimed at maintaining the privileged status of the English language at the expense of the French-speaking Quebecois. Bill 28 is presently before the National Assembly. Bill 63, which was passed in October 1969 by the provincial government, provoked the most massive protest demonstrations in Quebec since the struggle against conscription in the second world war.

Thousands of high school and college students in Montreal boycotted classes on the 15th and representatives of the United Front visited dozens of schools to rally support for the demonstration the following day. Day-long teach-ins were held in four CEGEPs (community colleges) in Montreal. At one high school, Philippe Aubert de Gaspe, over 1,000 students (practically the entire school) attended a rally to hear speakers from the United Front. At two other high schools, over 800 students left their classes and began a protest march but were turned back by the police.

The demonstration, about 4,000 strong when it departed from Parc Lafontaine was joined by over 4,000 more people along the six-mile route. Thousands of spectators in the working-class district which the demonstrators marched through enthusiastically expressed their solidarity.

At one point the demonstration passed by the Parthenais jail where the 500 political prisoners were taken after the invocation of the War Measures last October. The jail was heavily guarded with provincial police armed with standard riot equipment such as helmets and clubs, but there were no major incidents.

photo by Jeff White

MASS RALLY FOR A FRENCH QUEBEC. The Workers League calls mass actions for French language rights "middle class". The speaker at Oct. 16 rally (above) is Alain Beiner of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, a leading organizer of the action.

However, when the demonstration reached the Hydro-Quebec building, the Montreal office of Premier Bourassa, a few individuals among the demonstrators let fly a volley of rocks and bottles smashing windows and preventing the orators from mounting the speakers' platform to begin the rally. This attempt to sabotage the demonstration was organized by a group of ultraleft Maoists who, in the weeks prior to the demonstration, had campaigned against the struggle for a French Quebec, claiming that the Quebecois' demand for the right to speak their own language only served to divide the working class.

After about ten minutes the marshals were able to restore order and the rally began. Michel Chartrand, president of the Montreal Central Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, who was the first speaker, hit out at the social and economic oppression of the Quebecois at the hands of American and Anglo-Canadian imperialism. He also condemned the Maoists, declaring "you make a revolution with the people, you don't make a revolution with a little gang of stonethrowers."

Reggie Chartrand of the Chevaliers de l'Independence, Robert Lemieux, lawyer for many of the victims of the War Measures, Alain Beiner, national organizer of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes and Raymond Lemieux of the Ligue pour l'Integration Scolaire who is presently under indictment for "inciting a riot" while he led a demonstration in St-Leonard for French-language rights in 1969.

Raymond Lemieux ended the rally by declaring that this was only the first step in a massive campaign to win a French Quebec.

As the vast majority of the demonstrators dispersed, a group of about 200 ultralefts, led by the Maoists, marched through the downtown area smashing windows and ended up in a fighting match with the police. Nine arrests were made.

Despite these incidents, the demonstration was a big victory and is proof that thousands of Quebecois are once again willing to come into the streets, to continue the struggle until a French Quebec is won.

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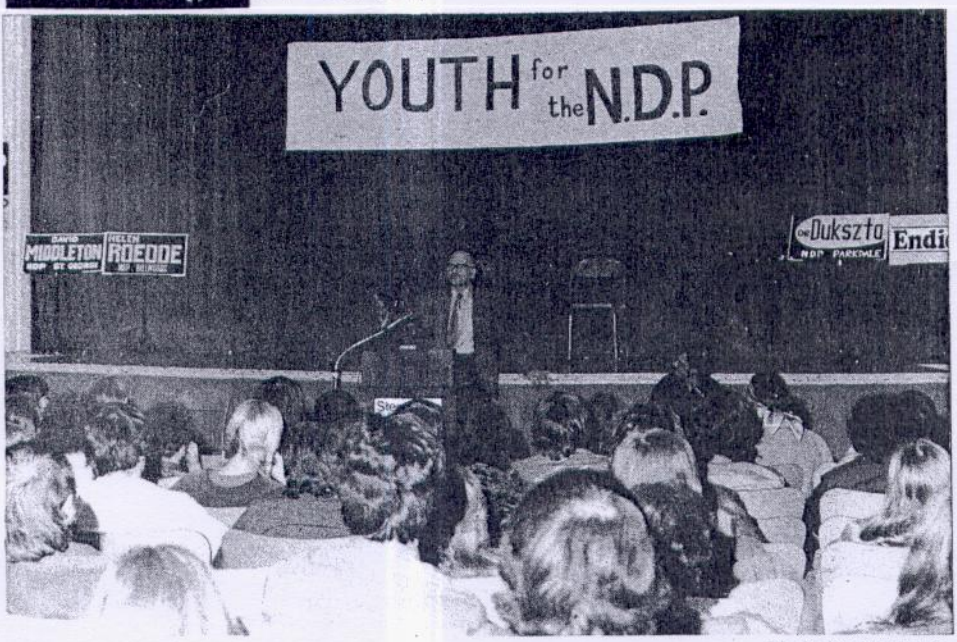

Photo by MacInnis

YOUTH FOR NDP. Rally in Toronto is addressed by NDP candidate David Middleton.

Hamilton student rally calls for NDP victory

by Kathleen Dalton

HAMILTON — About 400 students from McMaster University, Mohawk College and Hamilton area high schools attended a youth support rally for the NDP here Oct. 17.

The rally was sponsored by the Youth for an NDP Victory Committee, composed of individual activists in various youth organizations. Among them were the Young Socialists, the Students Representative Association of McMaster, the Mac Women's Liberation Movement and the Mac Christian Fellowship.

The rally was both entertaining and informative. Dancing and a band provided a festive atmosphere. Most of the Hamilton area NDP candidates spoke, including MLA's Ian Deans and Norm Davison and candidates Don Eastman, Bill Freeman, Walter Malkewich and Gordon Vichert. The latter is president of the Ontario NDP.

Kathy Beeman, representing the Young Socialists, who played a major role in initiating and building the rally, said the NDP was the only party a thinking and concerned student could support. She invited the many high schools and university students who have been attracted to the NDP during the campaign to join the Young Socialists, an organization which fights for a socialist Canada in a socialist world all year round.

Sylvia Szachniewcz from the Mac Women's Liberation Movement and Hamilton Abortion Repeal Committee pointed to the urgency of repealing the abortion laws, and invited rally participants to come to Ottawa Nov. 20. She circulated a petition endorsing the bill for abortion law repeal presented in Parliament by NDP MP Grace MacInnis.

The NDP support rally was the largest student rally held at McMaster during the election campaign.

The Young Socialists also sponsored NDP support rallies in Toronto, Peterborough and Ottawa during the campaign.

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Wpg. NDP falters in first civic attempt

by Dennis Lomas

WINNIPEG — The Greater Winnipeg municipal election Oct. 6, the first in which the New Democratic Party fielded a slate of candidates on the party label, saw the elction of seven NDP councillors, all of them from the downtown largely working-class central city area.

In the school board elections the NDP, while not successful throughout Greater Winnipeg, managed to gain a one-person majority on the central Winnipeg school board.

For the NDP, the results were disappointing. Some longstanding New Democrats who had been on the previous council went down to defeat — among them Manitoba Federation of Labor executive secretary Art Coulter, the Metro finance chairman, the Winnipeg deputy mayor and three Winnipeg aldermen.

The NDP campaign did not succeed in carrying forward on the spirit and determination expressed in the municipal convention decision last August to field a slate. The NDP failed to run a serious campaign, and did not pose the party as a clear alternative to the big business politicians.

A major problem was the NDP's decision not to contest the mayoralty. The NDP let incumbent Mayor Juba and Metro Chairman Jack Willis, both big businessmen, dominate the central race for mayor, the one that the public concentrates its attention on. As a result, the party slate, which contested 37 of the 50 wards, lacked a central focus of its own.

Mayoralty candidate William Hutton, an NDP-backed alderman in the previous council and past president of the provincial NDP ran as an "independent" and was not taken seriously by the voters. Juba won by a landslide.

The provincial NDP shares a large part of the blame. Premier Schreyer did not get behind the campaign. Yet it was the Schreyer government which carried out the Winnipeg amalgamation. By doing nothing to prevent big business from taking over the central council of the new amalgamated city complex — which represents about half the population of the province — Schreyer has helped big business to take control of a powerful political machine that can be used as a lever against the NDP provincial government Schreyer heads.

After the ballots were in Schreyer said "it may be that Winnipeg isn't ready for the introduction of party politics at this time."

But Winnipeg city politics is now dominated by a powerful political party — the so-called Independent Citizen's Election Committee (ICEC). This body is composed exclusively of Liberals and Conservatives who pose as "independents" but will rule the city consistently in the interests of big business. Schreyer's statement runs against the efforts of the NDP candidates who attempted to expose the ICEC.

The Communist party fielded eight candidates in the election under the label of the Labour Election Committee. In three wards they split the working class vote sufficiently to cause the defeat of an NDPer running in the same ward.

Unfortunately, the NDP chose to run a candidate against Joseph Zuken, a member of the CP who by virtue of his long record as a city councillor and representative of a recognized working class tendency, had established the right to be re-elected as part of a labor-NDP slate. Zuken won by a narrow margin against a prominent NDPer.

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Will laws safeguard abortion right?

photo by W

by Lis Angus

The Ontario Women's Abortion Action Conference, held Oct. 2 in Toronto, united large numbers of women around the immediate goal of repeal of the abortion laws.

In the course of the discuussions at the conference, many women expressed concern about what would happen after repeal was won. They felt that the coalition should add other measures besides repeal to its demands in order to ensure complete victory: that it should spell out measures which will *guarantee* a woman's right to abortion.

In particular many women felt that we should demand legal guarantees — that we should call for federal legislation to prohibit quack abortions and to prevent provinces from passing restrictive abortion legislation as soon as the federal laws are repealed.

This discussion is a crucial one: it hits at the heart of how we can win a woman's right to abortion. This will only be done through the pressure of public opinion, spearheaded by a strong movement united around the clear thrust of repeal. The coalitions which are being formed across Canada are the nucleus around which this movement will be built.

Millions of women today cannot obtain safe, legal abortion. Many risk their lives to end unwanted pregnancies. The removal of all legal restrictions on abortion will be a key victory for all women. It will be a first important step towards control of our own bodies. And it will spur us forward to further victories.

In addition the simple demand of repeal is the single issue that the forces now uniting together in the coalitions agree on: some would see abortion law repeal as an end in itself, others as the first step in a protracted struggle. But whatever the viewpoint we can agree on the goal of repeal.

Adding demands can only weaken and divide the coalition. The single focus of repeal means that the broadest possible forces are able to support it, to unite in action around this goal. The more demands the coalition takes on, the more groups will find they have disagreements with it.

Additional demands weaken the coalition's impact on the government as well. We can't place any conditions on repeal; this only gives the government an out — an excuse to postpone repeal because of quibbling about the other demands. The more clear and simple our demands on the government are, the harder it is for them to evade the issue.

In the process of fighting for repeal, of drawing masses of women into activity around this goal, we are raising their consciousness of their rights and of their strength when they unite together in struggle. We are building a movement which will grow in strength and force the government to grant — and enforce — our right to abortion.

The importance of building a mass movement around a single focus was learned in the antiwar movement. Some antiwar activists have wanted the movement to call for an end to imperialism, to poverty and pollution, all future wars. Yet groups which tried to organize on this multi-issue basis soon disintegrated; while the strong antiwar movement of today was built around the single issue of "withdraw all U.S. troops now."

In the long run, this mass women's movement is the only social force we can rely on to defend our gains. Only such a movement will have the power to block the anti-abortion forces and to fight for the facilities necessary to make abortion available to all women.

After repeal, when abortion is no longer a crime, a special law prohibiting quack abortionists would be no more effective that the present law: backstreet abortions will only cease when facilities for safe, legal abortions are universally available. In addition, unqualified abortionists would still be covered by the Medical Practices Act, which prohibits unlicensed persons from performing medical precedures.

Of course, we must pressure the federal government to use its authority to ensure our right to abortion, and legislation intended to meet this end would be useful. But such legislation, no matter how carefully worded it was, would be of limited value without a militant movement to back it up. Any future government could revoke it — or refuse to act on it: the experience of Canada's Native peoples can tell us that federally "guaranteed" rights are not necessarily to be counted on.

The main task confronting us is the building of a strong mass movement for repeal. In the experience of struggle we will develop wider areas of agreement. To try and force these agreements prematurely will only divert and divide the coalitions.

labor Challenge #42

Quebec forces unite in fight for abortion

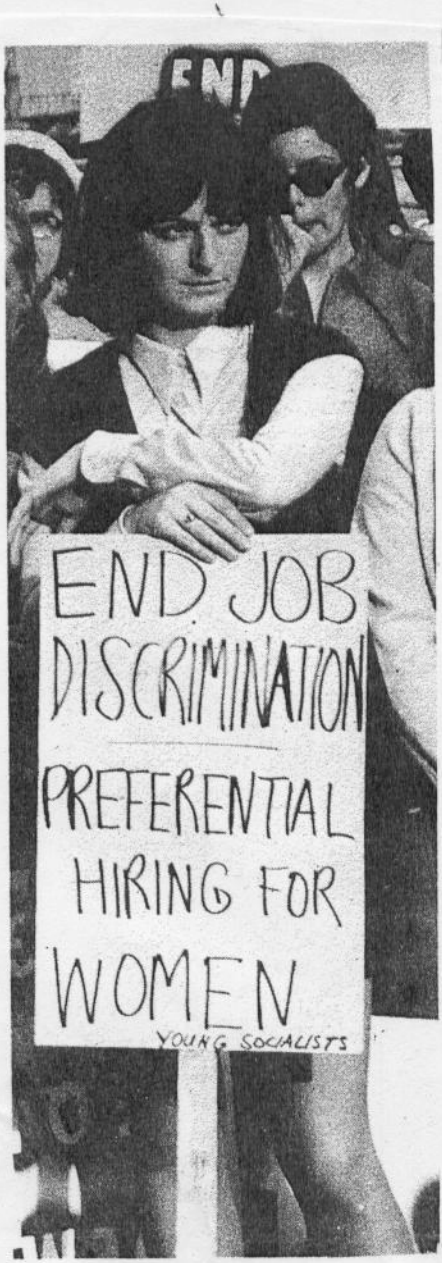
by Donna Nelson

The common front for the repeal of abortion laws (le front commun pour l'abrogation des lois sur l'avortement) was launched in Montreal Oct. 4. This Quebecois abortion law repeal coalition is planning a major demonstration Nov. 20, day of international demonstrations against abortion laws.

Of the 534 legal abortions performed in Quebec in 1970, only five were done in French-language hospitals, still heavily influenced by the Catholic Church. Government statistics reveal that the percentage of abortions to live births in Quebec is the lowest in the country (1.7 percent compared to 19 percent in B.C.)

Among the impressive list of initial sponsors are the Quebec NDP; the Teachers Professional Union; Robert Burns, Parti Quebecois MLA; Francine Lalonde, president of the National Federation of Quebec Teachers; Pauline Julien, prominent Quebecois singer; the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes; the Communist party; the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere; and Dr. Lise Fortier.

The English group in Montreal, Women's Coalition for Abortion Law Repeal, is holding a conference Oct. 24 to plan fall actions, in conjunction with the Front Commun.



labor Challenge #42 Oct 1971

Canadian UAW fights U.S. wage controls

by John Steele

The strike by 4,600 workers against the Douglas Aircraft Company in Malton, Ont. which began Oct. 13 is the first test of strength of a significant section of workers against the effects of the Nixon wage controls in Canada. In the face of union demands for a wage increase of about 30 percent over three years, the Douglas bosses have declared their intention to freeze wages because of Nixon's wage controls in the U.S.

A top McDonnell Douglas spokesman in the U.S. told UAW representatives: "Douglas deals with 26 unions and is not going to make an offer to any of them including the UAW in Canada until the situation is clarified in the United States."

The Douglas strikers are in a powerful position. The strike has stopped production of wings for the DC-9 and DC-10 jumbo jets of the U.S. parent corporation. Within weeks, production in plants employing 30,000 workers across the United States will be halting for lack of parts. There is a big backlog of orders from the airlines for the jumbo jets, and McDonnell Douglas has invested heavily in production facilities.

The entire North American aerospace industry, which employs more than 100,000 workers, began contract negotiations this summer, but the bargaining was halted by Nixon's imposition of wage controls.

The Toronto Globe and Mail pointed out the significance of the strike Oct. 14: "By striking at the Douglas operations here, the 4,000-member production local and the 600-member office workers local have moved into the vanguard of the collective bargaining battle between the North American aerospace industry and the two major unions in the field, the UAW and the International Association of Machinists."

Unfortunately, the top UAW leadership under Canadian director Dennis McDermott, have failed to fully get behind the strike. The leadership has not yet spoken out in defense of the strike since it began. And in his Sept. 26 speech, McDermott tried to argue that a strike at Douglas would be difficult to win, and that the company might even welcome a walkout.

In the United States, the action of UAW leader Leonard Woodcock who has agreed to sit on Nixon's wage-control board seriously undercuts the Douglas struggle against extension of the controls.

The U.S. capitalist class and its junior partners in Ottawa are attempting to place the burden of their ailing economic system and the costs of the Vietnam war on the backs of the working people. The Douglas workers stand in the front line of the struggle against this attempt. By their actions they are serving notice on the big-business Trudeau government that large-scale resistance is in the offing to any attempt to impose wage controls on Canadian workers.

Trudeau's attempt last year to impose wage guidelines was defeated by the refusal of the labor movements to accept his scheme.

Douglas militants have urged the Ontario Federation of Labor convention, which will meet Nov. 1-3, to act. In a leaflet, they appeal to the U.S. labor movement to mobilize against the imposition of wage controls, and they ask the Canadian Labor Congress to campaign against any attempts to impose wage restraints in this country. They challenge the OFL to "convene a special congress of labor in Ontario to plan mass actions to protest the imposition of the Nixon wage freeze in Canada and any move by the Canadian government to follow Nixon's freeze with similar measures."

The response of the delegates at the OFL convention must be firm and decisive. The ranks of organized labor in Ontario must be mobilized in support of the Douglas workers and in a showdown fight against wage controls, layoffs, rising prices and plant shutdowns around a class-struggle program which refuses to accept any form of wage controls or any limitation on the right to strike.

labor Challenge
#42 Oct 1971

Drive for 4,000 new readers

On target: 2,000 subs sold

by Peter Sharpe
Cross Canada sub drive director

OCT. 18 — At press time we had received 1,965 subscriptions in our business office: 745 for Labor Challenge, 1,012 for Young Socialist and 208 for Liberation.

In the first half of the 10-week subscription drive, we concentrated our efforts on the campus with special attention to the registration lineups and the campus dorms. In Ontario, the election campaign heightened political interest and allowed us to reach many hundreds of NDP supporters.

The scoreboard shows the situation across the country: eight areas are over the 50 percent mark at the halfway point in the drive. Toronto and Vancouver, both with high quotas, are ahead of schedule.

But now we have to maintain the pace we have set. This will require extra work. In the first half of the drive we were able to sell the bulk of the subs on the campus and to people who were familiar with our press. Now we have to reach out to new areas and new people.

In Toronto, supporters have grouped themselves into teams. Each team has undertaken a project. One has decided to set up a table in the Civic square and sell subs to the hundreds of youth who gather there on weekends. Another team will be visiting all former subscribers to get them to renew their sub.

The biggest previous drive in the history of the revolutionary socialist press attained 2,276 subs. This week we will reach and pass that figure on the way to our all-time high of 4,000 new readers!

Scoreboard

	Goal	Subs	Percent
St. Catharines	100	97	97
Hamilton	100	85	85
York	100	77	77
Guelph	50	28	56
Toronto	1,100	624	55
Vancouver	600	341	54
Ottawa	150	82	54
Saskatoon	150	77	51
Victoria	50	21	42
Kitchener-Waterloo	135	53	39
Hull	80	29	35
Montreal	400	130	33
Sudbury	50	16	32
Peterborough	125	28	22
Richmond Hill	50	11	22
Winnipeg	125	22	18
Halifax	100	13	13
Edmonton	200	8	4
Fredricton	100	—	—
General	75	74	99
Foreign	150	152	101
Total	4,000	1,965	49

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Amchitka, Viet protests slated for Nov. 3

VANCOUVER — The committee which organized the massive high school walkout here Oct. 6 to protest the impending Amchitka nuclear blast, has issued a call to high school and university students across Canada to hold protest actions Nov. 3. The committee, now called Student Committee Against Nuclear Testing (SCANT), has chosen the Nov. 3 date to coincide with mass student antiwar actions scheduled in the U.S. and elsewhere in Canada.

The committee estimates that nearly 15,000 students participated in the Oct. 6 protest, the largest to date in a series of antibomb demonstrations this fall.

Some ideas for action suggested by Duncan McLean, cross-country coordinator of SCANT, are special assemblies, noon-hour rallies, classroom discussions, petitions, and taking time off school to leaflet shopping centers about the Amchitka blast.

"There are dozens of creative ideas floating around about ways to protest the blast effectively," says McLean. "The key thing is that the forms of protest involve as many students as possible."

He added that it is very important to focus the protest the Canadian government. "The Trudeau government has sent one polite diplomatic note of protest to Washington about the Amchitka test. But they are still shipping uranium and over 300 million dollars' worth of arms to the U.S. each year. They are still supporting the North American Air Defense system with its nuclear weapons and they are still backing the U.S. war against Vietnam."

Stop Amchitka, Stop the war!
B.C. labor stops work in protest

labor Challenge

Vol. 2, No. 21 (43) November 8, 1971 15 cents

Part of the anti-Amchitka rally of 8,000 in Toronto massed in front of U.S. consulate.

NOV. 3 — Across Canada, hundreds of thousands of people are mobilizing in opposition to the impending U.S. nuclear explosion at Amchitka Island.

Particularly impressive are the whole new layers of students and workers who have played a leading role in the protests.

Many of them have linked their opposition to the Amchitka blast with a protest against the continuing U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia and the Canadian government's complicity in the war.

In the past two days, massive marches have been held in all the major cities.

In Vancouver today, 6,000 — mainly students — braved a freezing, drenching rain to rally at the U.S. consulate while an estimated 50-60,000 workers across the province downed tools for 30 minutes in a "Shutdown for Survival" initiated by the B.C. Federation of Labor. It was the first such work stoppage for a political protest since the strike against war in 1919.

In Toronto, the Ontario Federation of Labor convention adjourned while the 1,200 delegates marched on the U.S. consulate. A second demonstration at the consulate drew over 8,000 students later in the afternoon.

In Victoria, 4,000 participated in an anti-Amchitka rally organized by the recently-formed Student Amchitka Anti-war Committee. They were addressed by B.C. NDP leader Dave Barrett and representative of the anti-war movement and the Young Socialists.

In Saskatoon, between 3,000 and 5,000 demonstrated — about 3 percent of the city's total population.

Featured speaker at the Regina rally at the legislature was NDP premier Allan Blakeney.

In Winnipeg, close to 3,000 surrounded the U.S. consulate Nov. 2 in a rally sponsored by the students' councils of the two universities.

In Edmonton hundreds of students cut classes and demonstrated. In Guelph, Ont. over 1,000 participated in a teach-in at the university. Thousands of students demonstrated at various border crossings.

While the Amchitka blast was the main target of the protests, in many instances, speakers and demonstrators have linked Nixon's arrogant flaunting of public opinion in proceeding with the test, with Washington's war of aggression in Southeast Asia. A recurrent theme was "Stop Amchitka — Stop the War!" The demonstrations coincide with the Nov. 3

Quebec labor rallies against cop assault

AT FUNERAL of Michele Gauthier, young woman killed in brutal police assault on peaceful demonstration of over 10,000 against La Presse. In foreground are presidents of Quebec's three labor federations.

by Phil Courneyeur

"It's murder, plain murder."

That's how Louis Laberge, president of the Quebec Federation of Labor, described the death of Michele Gauthier during the police assault on the Oct. 29 labor demonstration in Montreal against La Presse.

The massive demonstration, estimated between ten and fifteen thousand strong, was organized by the three main labor federations of Quebec — the Confederation of National Trade Unions, the Corporation of Quebec Teachers and the QFL.

The police confronted the demonstrators with a "wall of shame" at Viger Square — solid lines of cops who stopped the demonstration and then charged into the crowd. Hundreds of people, including Laberge, were clubbed. Michele Gauthier suffocated to death after she fell in the face

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of the police assault.

Quebec-Presse, the labor weekly, reports that hundreds were wounded and says that two, possibly three, died. Only Gauthier's death has been confirmed.

The police assault on the peaceful demonstration was carried out on orders from Mayor Jean Drapeau. Drapeau acted on the basis of a municipal anti-

See page 2

...Quebec labor daily

Continued from page 1

demonstration bylaw which has been declared invalid by the Quebec Superior Court.

Drapeau and the Montreal police acted directly to protect the interests of the financial empire of Paul Desmarais and his Power Corporation, owners of La Presse. Laberge, commenting on the political impact of the police assault, stated: "Things will never be the same for the workers...What I know is that the police were there not to protect the population, but to club people and to protect the interests of the rich."

The La Presse demonstration came two-and-a-half months after the Aug. 19 lock-out of some 400 workers in five unions. Support for the locked-out La Presse workers grew across Quebec, making the La Presse struggle the focal point of current labor struggles in Quebec. On Oct. 27 the La Presse workers declared a strike and the editors suspended publication.

On Nov. 1 the union movement announced that the striking La Presse unions will publish a daily tabloid, beginning with a run of 100,000 copies. Published on the premises of Quebec-Presse, the new tabloid challenges the Quebec labor movement with the possibility of a continuing labor daily.

Quebec labor's response to Drapeau's assault was immediate.

A massive protest rally of 12,000 in the Montreal Forum Nov. 2, sponsored by the three labor federations and chaired by Michel Chartrand, president of the Montreal CNTU, heard militant anti-capitalist speeches denouncing the anti-labor drive and the war in Vietnam and in support of the struggle for French language rights in Quebec.

The La Presse strike brings the boss-government anti-labor drive in Quebec to a head. Labor's defense — with mass demonstrations, rallies and a fighting labor daily — shows that Quebec labor is not about to take the attack sitting down.

FREE PRESS? Cops attacking demonstration for freedom of the press scattered sales bundle of Liberation, Quebec socialist newspaper.

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Photo by Harding

BUILDING THE DEMONSTRATION. Alain Beiner of Front Commun speaks to students of Universite de Quebec at Trois-Rivieres. With him are two other leaders of the Front, Reggie Chartrand and Raymond Lemieux.

Socialists' role in Quebec actions

by Marilyn Raphael

MONTREAL — The first meeting of the Front Commun pour la Defense de la Langue Francaise (United Front for the Defense of the French Language — FCDLF) since the successful Oct. 16 demonstration, was held here Oct. 27.

Over 60 activists, mostly trade-unionists and students, unanimously adopted the main report of the meeting presented by Alain Beiner, leading member of the United Front and national organizer of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes (LJS). Beiner's report mapped out plans for a continuing mass campaign for a French Quebec, directed against the Bourassa government.

Nov. 28 was the date set for an important national conference of the FCDLF expected to involve delegates from all major nationalist and left organizations as well as many trade unions in Quebec. The conference is planned as the launching point of a vast campaign for the repeal of the infamous Bill 63, passed in 1969 by then Premier Bertrand in the face of massive opposition.

Support for this campaign is anticipated from a wide range of organizations in Quebec, even the Catholic (public) School Commission of Montreal, which recently came out strongly for the repeal of Bill 63 after publishing astonishing figures proving the accelerated anglicization of Quebec since its adoption.

The LJS and the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere (LSO) were among the very first organizations to initiate the FCDLF last August.

And during the more than 25 meetings held in Quebec schools in the last two weeks leading up to Oct. 16, the revolutionary socialists played key roles in building the demonstration which drew 8,000 on the anniversary of Trudeau's use of the War Measures Act. Both Beiner and Jean Herivault, Montreal organizer of the LSO and chief marshal at the demonstration spoke at the student meetings, along with Raymond Lemieux of the Ligue pour l'Integration Scolaire (League for School Integration) and Reggie Chartrand, the popular ex-boxer who heads the nationalist Chevaliers de l'Independance (Knights of Independance). In all, the leaders of the FCDLF spoke to over 10,000 youth.

Beiner and Herivault defended the revolutionary dynamic of the struggle for a French Quebec in the face of ultra-left and sectarian opposition that surfaced at a handful of the schools visited, which claimed that "the real struggle is for socialism."

At a meeting Oct. 4 of the executive of the Montreal Central Council (CNTU), an ultra left inspired resolution was rammed through in spite of the absence of the majority of executive members including the president, to the effect that the Central Council should withdraw its support of the FCDLF because "the language question is reformist and co-optable by the capitalists.

At the membership meeting of the Central Council the following evening, this resolution was soundly defeated. Michel Chartrand, president of the 75,000-member Council, with the help of many of the 125 workers assembled, explained how the language question affected the working class above all, how in fact the right to be educated in a French school system or to speak French and not English at work was a class question — a bread-and-butter question — for most Quebecois, an issue which pits the working people against their bosses, the foreign owners of Quebec's economy.

A handful of Maoists followed the FCDLF leaders around on part of their tour of the schools, attempting to counterpose the struggle for a French Quebec to the struggle for socialism. The Maoists, invariably isolated and laughed at, accused the FCDLF of "inventing the language question" and of being "initiators of reactionary civil war," "agents of American imperialism and Anglo-Canadian colonialism," "national chauvinists," "Trotskyists," "fascists," and "social-fascists."

The socialist leaders of the FCDLF, referring to the experience of Lenin in the Russian revolution, responded by stating that any group not supporting the struggle to defend the language of an oppressed nation could not consider itself democratic, let alone socialist. They noted that the opposition of the Maoists to the struggle for a French Quebec had the effect of putting them in the same gutter as the Canadian ruling class — along with Trudeau and Bourassa.

Jean Herivault

Both Beiner and Herivault explained how socialism does not fall from the sky ready-made, or come about by shouting "Death to Fascism!" and "Smash Imperialism!" They explained how socialism was a social system based on complete liberation, including linguistic liberation and could only be won by mobilizing masses of people in the streets against the government. Masses of workers and students have to be mobilized in partial struggles around specific issues which profoundly affect their daily lives, which they understand and are willing to do something about — struggles directed against the capitalist system and its governments.

This, they stated, was a process of revolutionary education for the masses, through which they would arrive at socialist conclusions about the necessity of a revolutionary transformation of society.

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Nov. 20

Rally to repeal abortion laws

by Donna Nelson

A mass women's assembly in Ottawa on Nov. 20 to call for repeal of the abortion laws — abortion on demand — is being built right across Ontario. So far six buses have been rented from Toronto, and other areas are planning to send large contingents. Among those who have agreed to speak are Laura Sabia, chairwoman of the National Ad hoc Committee on the Status of Women, Dr. Harriet Christie of the United Church's Board of Women, and Grace MacInnis, New Democratic MP.

Nov. 20 is the day of massive international actions for abortion as a woman's right, in cities throughout North America and Europe.

The following are reports on what is being planned in other provinces.

From Montreal, Brenda Zannis writes that a French-language coalition and an English-language coalition have been formed and are planning a joint demonstration on Nov. 20 in Montreal. The Front Commun Pour l'Abrogation des Lois sur l'Avortement held a public meeting Oct. 21 attended by close to a hundred. A panel of gynecologists, sociologists, a lawyer and a psychologist, all supporting repeal of the anti-abortion laws, discussed the question as it relates to their profession.

The Front Commun is also circulating a petition for repeal of the abortion laws. Five policemen seized petitions containing about 200 names from a member of the Front Commun who was circulating them at a demonstration on Oct. 16. They have not yet been returned.

On Oct. 24 the English-language Women's Coalition for Abortion Law Repeal held a conference of 60 women. They will be working in conjunction with the French group to plan the Nov. 20 action in Montreal.

From Winnipeg:

"Greetings to your conference. . .May your proceedings bring home to each of you that you are a pioneer in today's great task of liberating humanity from the heavy chains of the past." These were Grace MacInnis' greetings to the conference of the Manitoba Abortion Action Coalition on Oct. 30. The 55 women attending the enthusiastic conference decided in plenary and workshop sessions to continue the petitioning for abortion law repeal already started in Winnipeg, and to build the action Nov. 20 at high schools and campuses.

Women in Saskatoon decided at their conference Oct. 16 to hold a "caravan" to Regina, the provincial capital, on Nov. 20.

From Vancouver, a correspondent reports that the B.C. Women's Abortion Law Repeal Coalition is having great success getting signatures for the abortion law repeal petition. They are organizing teams of women in the downtown areas on Saturdays, and people are lining up to sign the petition at tables in front of major department stores. The petition is building support for actions on Nov. 20 in Vancouver, too.

labor Challenge #43

Petition builds campaign for abortion on demand

by Joan Newbigging

Prime Minister Trudeau flippantly declared at a Halifax meeting last week that it was up to the women of Canada to decide whether or not the abortion laws should be repealed.

This, from the man who has arrogantly ignored al. attempts by the women of Canada to make their voices heard on this crucial issue to date.

The man who has virtually shelved the report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, which called for abortion on demand in the first 12 weeks of pregnancy, and which was the product of intensive hearings, interviews and studies by the women of Canada.

From the man who has refused to meet with Laura Sabia, chairwoman of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Status of Women, which unites organizations representing over two million women and which calls for the implementation of the commission's report.

From the man who last Feb. 13 refused to meet with the hundreds of women who came to Ottawa calling for abortions on demand.

Such cynicism, such callous disregard of the needs, wishes and struggles of Canadian women cannot be ignored. We must meet it by stepping up the abortion law repeal campaign, and specifically by stepping up the petition campaign. The petition, in "support of the private member's bills submitted by Grace MacInnis and Hyl Chappell which call for repeal of those sections of the Criminal Code dealing with abortion," has been launched by repeal forces across Canada.

The thousands of signatures that have been obtained even in the very early stages of the campaign give us a glimpse of the enormous possibilities before it.

It will provide a dramatic counterattack to the project launched by the anti-abortion forces to send a hundred thousand letters to the government. Across Canada these groups — the Right to Life, Friends of the Fetus backed by the Catholic church with its unlimited resources — are mobilizing in response to the growing movement for repeal.

The petition campaign is the key instrument which is building the abortion repeal movement right now. A project of this scope cannot be carried by a handful of activists. Hundreds of women must be involved, and right now there are thousands of women across Canada who are eager to pitch in.

Despite his miserable record, we'll hold Trudeau to his word. We'll let him know where the women of Canada stand on this issue. We'll take the petition campaign into shopping plazas, to schools, to busy street corners, to homes. We'll get thousands upon thousands of signatures to show Trudeau what our decision is, and in the process we'll build a movement which will force him to listen **to us,** which will force him and his **government to repeal** the laws.

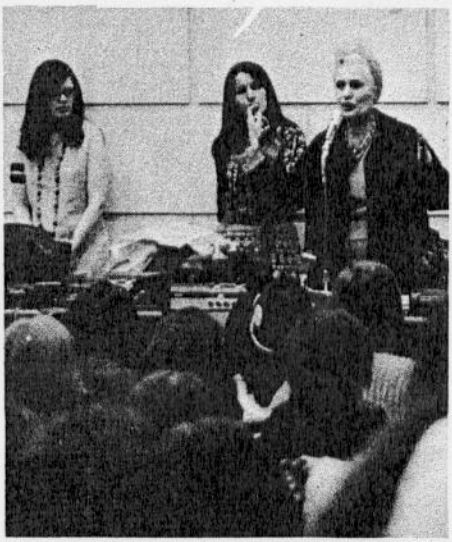

Photo by White

GRACE MacINNIS. NDP MP will address pro-abortion rally on Parliament Hill Nov. 20. Above, speaking to abortion caravaners last year.

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Ont. NDP failed to project an alternative leadership

by Kate Alderdice

TORONTO — In the wake of the Tory sweep in the Ontario elections a discussion has opened up among NDP members and supporters on the election results, which failed to bear out the high expectations among campaign workers and supporters for substantial NDP gains at the polls.

When the final results were in, the Conservative government of William Davis had been returned with 78 seats, while the Liberals had been cut down to 20 from 27, and the NDP to 19. In the previous legislature, the NDP had 21 seats. However, the NDP's share of the popular vote increased very slightly over the previous election in 1967, going up to 27 percent.

Why did the NDP not do better? Why did we not see a sizeable increase in the number of NDP seats, or even an NDP government coming out of this election? Party leader Stephen Lewis blames the big business money and media exposure of the Davis campaign. "We will never," he lamented, "be able to compete with the $3,000,000-$5,000,000 on the media. Never."

Undoubtedly the resources and demagogy of the Tory campaign were an important factor in the election results. Millions of dollars were spent on TV, radio, brochures and newspaper ads to outflank the NDP by presenting Davis as a young, progressive leader, "doing things for people." At the same time the Tory campaign played on the need for confident "leadership" to deal with the problems facing Ontario.

In spite of this high-powered campaign, the NDP had every reason to expect some substantial gains in this election. The campaign took place in a context of growing economic crisis and unemployment, and increasing protests against the sellout of our natural resources to the U.S. war machine, pollution, rising prices, and cutbacks in educational spending. All these questions point to big business and its parties, the Tories and Liberals, as the culprits.

The NDP campaign reflected the radicalization among youth. Many of the canvassers and campaign workers were high school students, something that no other party can claim. And trade union participation in the NDP campaign was greater than ever before. About $70,000 of the NDP's total campaign fund of $216,000 came from union donations. A number of full-time organizers, and plenty of volunteer part-time canvassers were donated by several unions.

Stephen Lewis

In spite of this the NDP did not substantially increase its vote among trade unionists. In fact, it lost some important working class seats like Oshawa and Brantford.

Even though the NDP did not make spectacular gains in this campaign, it's important to realize that its vote at least held firm, and in fact increased somewhat in most cases.

The election results reveal clearly the illusions that the working people of this province still have about the ability of what are parties of Big Business to solve their problems. The overwhelming majority of workers still have only rudimentary elements of class consciousness, although a growing minority recognize the NDP, the party of labor, as **their** party.

Would a more "left" program have increased the NDP vote in this election? Mel Watkins, a leader of the left-wing "Waffle" caucus in the NDP, says that the near-win of Waffle candidate Steve Penner in Toronto's Dovercourt riding proves just that. "The Waffle helped this party," he said. "If they had run a more radical program maybe we would have been better off in many ridings."

What crippled the NDP campaign was not just the lack of a radical program, although that was part of it. It was its failure to project itself as a clear and decisive alternative to the big business Tory and Liberal parties, to sharply differentiate itself from them. It did not show itself to be a leadership fully committed to the interests of working people, confident of its own ability to lead, and therefore able to inspire confidence among the voters.

Interestingly, a Liberal party survey of voters taken last May revealed that most voters felt the NDP could give Ontario its "most honest, able, sincere and responsive" government. Yet these same voters failed to cast their ballots for the NDP on Oct. 21. Why? Because the NDP has not won their confidence, has not convinced them that an NDP government could really take hold of the situation, could move out aggressively and solve the problems that they face as working people and students. The NDP did not establish itself during the campaign as a different kind of party, as a real alternative to big business rule.

This was made evident on several major issues leading up to the election. One was the large number of plant closures — 138 plants in the last year, involving over 16,000 workers, more than in any **decade** since the crash of 1929. Not one closure has been successfully resisted by the labor movement and the NDP. In most cases they have failed even to launch a serious campaign to stop a closure.

The NDP's campaign proposal for a government fund to channel private investment priorities into less vulnerable industries was thoroughly inadequate — and not much removed from what the Tories and Liberals would say. Instead of posing public ownership of shutdown plants and their operation by the workers themselves, Lewis attacked public ownership, and lashed out at the Waffle for its support of nationalization.

The NDP also lost considerable support on the separate school issue. Pollster Peter Reigenstreif found that an important factor in building the "forward-

→p.2

looking" image of the Davis governmen was its refusal to extend public tax aid to the Catholic separate school system beyond Grade Ten, in spite of the massive campaign conducted by the Catholic hierarchy. His poll finding indicated that many people who opposed such aid considered the issue important enough to seriously influence their choice of political party. Most Catholics, on the other hand, were relatively indifferent on the issue.

The widespread opposition to any extension of funds to Catholic schools not only helped the Tories, the only party to oppose such aid — it also did much to blur the NDP's reform image. In any case, whatever staunch Catholic votes it may have hoped to pick up through this crassly opportunist position were lost by the party's correct and principled position in favor of the right of women to abortion.

Several NDP leaders have responded to the elections by laying the blame for the "defeat" at the doorstep of Stephen Lewis. MPP Morton Shulman made a public statement to the effect that Ontario had "rejected" Stephen Lewis, and posed the need for another leader. This is merely a reflection of the shallow concept of politics held by the entire NDP leadership — that success at the polls depends on a single charismatic leader who can capture the imagination of the voters.

What the NDP lacked in this campaign was not the right leader, but a leadership with a clearly delineated strategy for bringing labor to power in Ontario. The campaign lacked any clear focus. "Labor to Power, Elect the NDP" should have been the theme of the campaign, hammered home in speeches and party literature. Instead the campaign was largely conducted on an atomized constituency basis, with lots of energetic door-knocking by canvassers, but no major campaign rallies, no attempt to mobilize workers in large numbers, to build confidence and a feeling of the power that lies within the working class.

This kind of leadership was missing because in general the NDP has not responded to the challenge it faces in this period — the challenge to lead the working people against the attacks of big business, not just during election campaigns, but all the time.

Where were the NDP and labor leaderships while thousands of workers have been thrown out of work through plant closures? Stephen Lewis complains that the big business mass media was against the NDP in the campaign. Of course this is true, but where was the NDP leadership when the Toronto Telegram folded, and the possibility of establishing a labor daily was posed?

The Ontario election campaign shows that it isn't enough for the NDP to make an appearance during election campaigns every few years. It must be there all the time, providing leadership for the working people in their day-to-day struggles.

"REST EASY, COLONEL. NDP WON ONLY 19 SEATS."

Arrest French Trotskyists for role in antiwar actions

In early-morning raids Oct. 21, French police searched the homes of leaders of the Ligue Communiste, the French section of the Fourth International. Several leaders of the organization were arrested, including Henri Weber, Jean Metais, Jeannette Grimaldi, Charles Michaloux and Michel Rotman.

The arrests are in response to a protest against the Saigon "elections" that was held in front of the U.S. consulate two weeks earlier. It was organized by the Ligue as part of its campaign to build antiwar demonstrations in France Nov. 6.

Michaloux is currently on trial for libeling the French police in the pages of Rouge, the weekly paper of the Ligue Communiste, which he edits. Michaloux has demanded that he be allowed to present proof of the accuracy of the articles for which he had been indicted.

In its Oct. 23 issue, Rouge declares that the raids and arrests are an extension of the government's attacks on the Ligue and a response to the widespread support elicited for the defendants during the Rouge trials. It states that the government through its actions is defending U.S. imperialism, and pledges that "the mobilization in France for the victory of the Indochinese revolution will go forward and will especially show its strength in the Nov. 6 demonstrations throughout France."

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Interview with Jim Laxer

'Stress labor issues'

by John Steele

NOV. 1 – The Ontario NDP would have won more support from working people if it had campaigned on a program to stop plant shutdowns, layoffs and antilabor legislation, Jim Laxer, a leading spokesman of the party's left-wing "Waffle" group, told Labor Challenge today.

"To me the election results show that where campaigns were run by the NDP that were directed to issues concerning working class people, the response was favorable. In particular, the results in St. Andrew-St. Patrick where Dan Heap gave (Minister of Trade and Development) Grossman a run for his money and in Dovercourt where Steve Penner, without any assistance from the party, came within 50 votes of winning, the strength of socialist policies was shown."

Replying to NDP leader Stephen Lewis who claimed that the NDP was blocked by the million-dollar Conservative campaign fund, Laxer declared: "The Tories will always have money. A socialist party can only be successful by organizing people all the time and not simply during elections. Elections should be seen as a way of expressing the level of consciousness that has been achieved through direct organization to build the power of the working people.

"I think the conditions in Canadian society favor the growth of a working class party and that the NDP will be under pressure to respond to working class issues. I think the Waffle is going to grow because of conditions in Canadian society: growing unease about the economic situation and specifically U.S. imperialist policies towards Canada."

Stephen Lewis in his speech to the Ontario Federation of Labor claimed that the Waffle Labor Caucus was led by academics outside the union movement. Laxer denied the charge, saying "I find it rather strange that Lewis, a leader of a socialist party gets into a kind of egg-head baiting, like right wingers. As far as I am concerned, people who teach are part of the working population of the country and can make a contribution to the socialist movement."

Jim Laxer

In the labor movement, Laxer believes that the struggle to win the unions to a socialist program is a broader and deeper struggle than that being waged in the NDP. "I think the victory will take longer but when achieved, will be more important."

This interviewer objected to the call by the Waffle caucus for socialist caucuses in the unions, on the grounds that it can be an obstacle to the growth of militant caucuses in the unions which can develop into a broad left wing built around a class struggle program directed against the trade union bureaucracy. The call for socialist rather than militant caucuses in the unions tends to limit oppositional formations to conscious socialists.

Laxer defended the Waffle labor stand. "Socialist caucuses in the trade union movement are not seen as exclusive and narrow bodies that will not work with other people in the trade union movement. Their specific purpose is to create groupings within every union that are consciously committed to building an independent socialist Canada."

Hitting out at the government's economic policies, Laxer stated that while it "is not going to sign a treaty on energy exports, the government will very likely extend sales of Canadian energy resources on a piecemeal basis. The immediate events being a further sale of a billion dollars in natural gas to the U.S. and the James Bay Hydro electric development in Quebec and the possibility of a gas and oil pipeline across Canada from Alaska to the United States.

"These steps are taking place at the same time as the government is allowing the manufacturing sector of the economy to come under attack. Trudeau refuses to guarantee that he will not bargain away the protective clauses for Canada in the Canada-U.S. auto pact."

The Waffle fully supports the Nov. 3 and 6 demonstrations against the Amchitka nuclear test and the Vietnam war, Laxer declared. It also supports the movement for abortion on demand and many women's liberationists in the Waffle continue to be active on that question.

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Ruling threatens Native hold on reserves

by Robert Dumont

Native Indian militants are mobilizing to challenge a federal court ruling that gives non-Indians the legal right to live on Indian reserves.

The federal court of appeal ruled Oct. 8 that a section of the Indian Act that deprives an Indian woman of her rights as an Indian when she marries a non-Indian is non-operative as contrary to the Bill of Rights.

The ruling means that an Indian woman may invite her white husband and their children to live with her on her reserve, occupying its land and using all the facilities which are the collective property of the Indian community.

The Association of Iroquois and Allied Indians, representing 20,000 Ontario Indians, has asked the federal government to appeal the decision. The association acted in response to a Department of Indian Affairs directive issued a few days after the court's verdict. Without waiting for the outcome of inevitable appeals to the Supreme Court, department officials halted the removal of women's names from the Indian band register when they marry non-Indians. An official said the department may reinstate the names of other women who have been dropped from the register already — as many as 5,000 women during the last 10 years alone, he said.

The federal court was ruling on an appeal by Jeannette Lavell from a judgment in lower court refusing to orde. the federal government to reinstate her as a member of the Wikwemicong band on Manitoulin Island, Ontario.

The Lavell case, as it was argued before the courts, had overtones of women's rights and even Indian nationalism. She said she wanted to live on the reserve in order to teach her infant son the Ojibway language and Indian ways.

And it was a test case against a frankly sexist and racist section of the Indian Act denounced by the Royal Commission on the Status of Women. The Act provides that an Indian woman who marries a non-Indian or a non-registered Indian loses all the rights and privileges of Indian status, as do her natural or adopted children — while an Indian man who marries a non-Indian not only retains his Indian status but also confers it on his wife and children.

The media has universally treated the Lavell ruling as a victory for women's rights.

But the court's decision, by giving legal authorization for the first time to the presence of non-Indian men on the reserve, is opposed by many Indian militants. They see it as a serious threat to their cultural identity, by depriving them of the unrestricted use of their own land wrested from the encroaching white man many years ago and given legal protection for all time (so they thought) in treaties and other formal agreements with the representatives of the Queen. The reserves are seen by the Indians as essential to their increasing sense of self-determination and nationality as a sovereign people.

At Caughnawaga, Que. Mohawk activist Kahn-Tineta Horn has invoked the provision of the Act now overturned by the court, in a campaign to force the federal government to evict non-Indians from the reserve. In a letter to the Toronto Star Aug. 12 she explained that whites who marry Indian women have settled on the reserve in violation of the Indian Act hoping to "grab some of the land they think that the parents of the Indian woman might have."

She argues that the influx of whites, now an estimated 800 to 1,500 in a total reserve population of less than 5,000, is seriously undermining the native cultural environment and threatens to destroy it altogether.

Indian support for her campaign has forced the elected band council at Caughnawaga to give six months notice to Indian women who have married whites and lost status, and inherited or acquired title to land and houses on the reserve. They must sell their land to Indians.

In a speech to the Institute of Iroquoian Studies at the University of Waterloo Oct. 23, Kahn-Tineta Horn said the new court ruling may mean "death to all Indians." She said Indians "will not accept equality and are determined to discriminate in favor of Indians in every way possible. This is the way of the Indian people and this is what preserved us and safeguarded us from destruction.

"Indians are not Canadians, never will be Canadians and the Canadian Bill of Rights has nothing to do with Indians."

Kahn-Tineta Horn

Drive for 4,000 new readers

The big push is on

by Peter Sharpe
Cross Canada sub drive director

NOV. 1 — With three weeks to go in the joint Labor Challenge, Young Soccialist, Liberation subscription drive the big question is "Will we make it?"

At the half-way point we were right on schedule with 1965 subs in our office. At the end of the sixth week, Oct. 25, we had reached 2,276 subs. This equalled our largest sub drive ever when in 1970 we won 2,276 new readers by the end of a 10-week drive.

At press time we have 2,589 new subscriptions in our office, 1,015 to Labor Challenge, 1,268 to Young Socialist, Canada's most widely-read socialist student monthly, and 306 to Liberation, Quebec's leading independentist and socialist monthly newspaper. These three journals have joined forces in a drive for a total of 4,000 new readers by Nov. 20 in English Canada and Quebec.

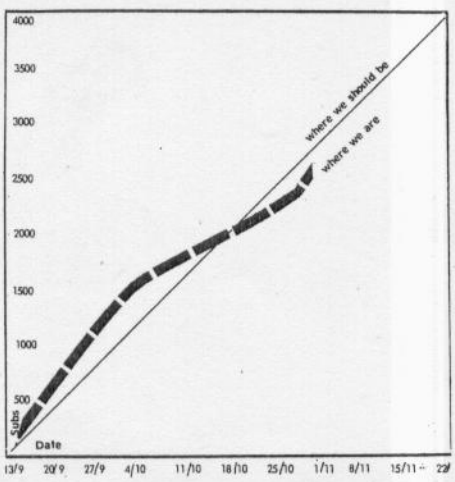
As the scoreboard shows, York University in Toronto is the first area to have reached (and surpassed!) its goal. The graph shows how the cross-Canada drive is progressing.

In the second half of a drive it's all uphill. Our sub teams have saturated the campus dormitories and visited all of our former subscribers. Now we must mobilize teams to get subs from all those people who build and join the November antiwar demonstrations. We must also approach all those women who are active in building the coalitions to repeal the abortion laws.

Make this drive a success with a massive effort in the final three weeks!

If you bought this paper at an antiwar demonstration you're just the person who should become a regular subscriber. This will keep you informed of the revolutionary socialist viewpoint on the many important questions radicals face in the antiwar and women's liberation movements, the NDP, the Quebec independence struggle. You'll find Labor Challenge a vital tool for participating actively in all the mass movements for radical change.

And while you're at it, be sure to take advantage of our special joint subscription offer with Young Socialist, the paper that tells you where the youth radicalization is at — and projects a program to advance it. Double the value of a single subscription to Labor Challenge — and for only 50 cents more.



Scoreboard

	Goal	Subs	percent
York	100	113	113
St. Catharines	100	97	97
Hamilton	100	93	93
Victoria	50	42	84
Vancouver	600	510	85
Sakatoon	150	102	67
Toronto	1100	724	66
Ottawa	150	99	66
Guelph	50	30	60
Peterborough	125	68	55
Kitchener-Waterloo	135	73	49
Montreal	400	176	44
Hull	80	34	43
Winnipeg	125	42	34
Regina	10	3	30
Halifax	100	24	24
Edmonton	200	31	16
Fredericton	100	16	16
Foreign	150	156	102
Quebec, General	—	13	—
General	75	82	115
	4000	2589	65

clip and mail to: Subscription Drive, c/o Vanguard Bookstore, 334 Queen St. W., Toronto 113.

— Enclosed is $2.00 for the special joint subscription to Young Socialist and Labor Challenge.

— Enclosed is $1.00 for one year of Young Socialist only.

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Pyotr Yakir on the fight for socialist democracy
From the (Russian) Soviet underground

(From Labor Challenge, November 1971)

For three full years now and going well into the fourth, the most broadly representative publication of the movement for socialist democracy in the Soviet Union, the *Chronicle of Current Events,* has continued to come out every second month. The nineteenth issue, dated April 30, 1971, has only now become available to us: unfortunately, clandestine conditions seem to make the four-month delay a not unusual occurrence. The appearance of a twentieth issue, dated June 30, 1971, has also been reported but we have not yet seen copies of it.

The regularity and continuity of this samizdat *(underground Russian pro-Soviet anti-bureaucracy literature –ed.)* publication, the continued appearance of oppositional organizations of various hues, the ongoing struggles of oppressed national minorities (a *Chronicle* is now coming out in the Ukraine, and another one dealing solely with the struggle of Soviet Jews for the right to emigrate to Israel — a reaction to the denial of national and cultural rights by the Great Russian Kremlin bureaucracy) — all these are a sure sign that the protest movement in the USSR continues to rise.

The Kremlin bosses and their police apparatus do not feel it is safe now to resort to the kind of mass arrests used under Stalin. Thus they are unable to root out and expunge the movement as a whole. Instead, they pick off outstanding individuals and particular groups. Such victimizations, however, tend in turn to arouse further protests, while admittedly having an intimidating effect on weaker or more timid elements around the oppositional movement.

The hardened caste of officials and administrators who have usurped power and privilege in the Soviet workers' state are obviously unsure of themselves in the face of the growing politicalization of important sections of the population. They display a peculiar inconsistency, a half-surly hesitancy. It is as though they sense a growing resentment over their bullying tactics but are determined to brazen through nevertheless.

An interesting assessment of the current stage of the movement for socialist democracy is given in the following excerpts from Pyotr Yakir's March 27 1971, *Open Letter to the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Soviet Communist party.* These excerpts appeared in the listing of "New Samizdat Works" in the recently received issue No. 19 of the *Chronicle*. The translation, by *Intercontinental Press (SWP, U.S.)*, has omitted only the last excerpt — a paragraph in which Yakir lists eighteen prominent political prisoners (including many in psychiatric prison-hospitals) and refers to "the many, many others." His own freedom of the moment he describes as a "drop of good fortune" in this sea of unhappy cases.

The reason the KGB has not acted against him in more decisive fashion is, of course, that he is the son of General Ion Yakir, one of the top Red Army generals secretly tried and shot by Stalin on the eve of World War II. Steps against another Yakir in 1971 might revive too many memories of the 1937 purge to be useful to the heirs of Stalin.

...In recent years a dangerous tendency has made itself felt in the internal life of our country — toward a revival of Stalinist methods of rule and, in art and literature and in the writing of history and personal memoirs, toward a rehabilitation of Stalin himself, one of the greatest criminals of the twentieth century. It is understandable that such a development suits the revenge-seeking Stalinists perfectly well. But isn't it also understandable and natural that it arouses the protests of those who warmly welcomed the "liquidation of the consequences of the personality cult"? Isn't the alarm understandable that is felt by the many thousands over whom the shadow of that gloomy and cruel fanatic rears itself once again? Such alarm is felt by a very large part, if not the overwhelming majority, of our creative, scientific and technical intelligentsia, by thousands of members of national minorities whose rights were trampled upon under Stalin and who still have not had them restored, and by many other citizens of the Soviet Union for whom the fate of the nation is not a matter of indifference.

In the second half of the 1960s a flood of letters, appeals and declarations — individual and collective, on particular questions and on matters in general — poured into the offices of various party and government bodies. The critical content of these documents was in the great majority of cases absolutely loyal. One would naturally have expected that the leadership, which has proclaimed to all the world the complete and total "liquidation of the consequences" (of Stalin's cult), would explain reasonably and politely to its fellow citizens in what respects their criticisms were justified or unjustified.

Why, then, has the reply to criticism been, in the best of cases, silence; and at the worst — legal prosecution and extrajudicial repression?

... Political prisoners have reappeared in the camps. In psychiatric prison-hospitals once again we find the "mentally incompetent," for whom the chief proof of "being cured" is the abandonment of their beliefs and convictions. Public confessions are once again demanded and those who refuse to recant (and sometimes even those who do recant) are reduced in rank, or discharged from their work, or expelled from educational institutions.

The selectiveness, the "discrimination" employed, in exercising repression (for one and the same "crime," one person is given a reprimand at work, another is not bothered at all and a third gets several years in a prison camp) only underscores the arbitrariness and illegality of the repressive measures.

What kind of method is it to reply to criticism with persecution? Whom does it serve? Is this the way to demonstrate your correctness to your fellow citizens and to the world? **Will a monolithic ideological unity in our society really be achieved in this way?** Why, this will only enlarge the number of the discontented, with no regard to how that discontent is to express itself.

Samizdat has appeared and stubbornly persists. Is this not a sign that the spiritual needs of the society are not being properly met? And is imprisonment for possession or production of samizdat materials really going to quench this intellectual thirst?

Why is it that the Soviet film “Andrei Rublyov” can be shown in France but not in the Soviet Union? Why is it that foreign Communists can read and admire Solzhenitsyn, while in the Soviet Union one can read only vicious articles about him?

Who would think of writing to the UN or appealing to world public opinion if our own leadership had offered convincing answers to serious questions bothering serious people? **One is forced to conclude that political and philosophical dissent, even if it is loyal, is regarded as a crime in our country, though it is not so stated**.

Pyotr Yakir on the fight for socialist democracy
From the (Russian) Soviet underground

(From Labor Challenge, November 1971)

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Repeal abortion laws MacInnis tells Trudeau

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Grace MacInnis

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Lessons of Amchitka upsurge

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Quebec labor confronts gov't, PQ; crisis sparked by La Presse strike

A view of the crowd of 12,000 that packed Montreal Forum Nov. 2 to protest police assault on La Presse demonstration.

by Marilyn Raphael and Phil Courneyeur

MONTREAL — The labor daily, Le Quotidien Populaire, launched by the 11 unions on strike at La Presse, announced Nov. 15 that it was suspending publication immediately for lack of funds. This setback occurred just as the workers at La Presse affiliated with the Quebec Federation of Labor (QFL) rejected a settlement proposed by the Quebec labor minister and accepted by the owners of La Presse, Power Corporation of multimillionaire Paul Desmarais.

The La Presse unions affiliated with the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU) had earlier rejected the proposed settlement.

Did the decision to close Le Quotidien Populaire mean that it was seen only as a means to pressure the government and management of La Presse into bargaining? In an editorial in the last issue, spokesmen for the unions had said they were "reallocating their resources" owing to a "new turn in the dispute."

Yet the creation of Le Quotidien Populaire had posed the possibility of a permanent mass-circulation daily, under the control of the trade unions, to furnish labor's viewpoint to the Quebecois nation. During the two weeks it published, the daily had a press run of some 100,000 copies.

The publication of Le Quotidien Populaire — the first labor daily in Canada (a similar attempt by La Presse strikers in 1964 came out irregularly and soon faltered) — highlighted the importance of the La Presse strike, which moved very rapidly to the center of a mounting crisis in Quebec. The main issue in the strike, which began in August with the bosses locking out four of the eleven unions, is job security. But the bosses and government authorities, including Justice Minister Choquette and Mayor Jean Drapeau, have used it to unleash a brutal offensive against labor, which triggered the murderous police attack on the Oct. 29 demonstration of 15,000 against La Presse.

The Quebec government is readying a new anti-demonstration law which will make the organizers of demonstrations legally responsible for injuries and property damage which occur. Trudeau has indicated his approval of such a law.

The vicious anti-labor assault comes in a period of growing nationalist ferment around the defense of the French language and a campaign for French unilingualism which the Montreal CNTU has vigorously backed. There has been a resurgence of protest in Quebec since the War Measures crisis, announced especially by the Oct. 16 language demonstration of 8,000 and the Oct. 29 La Presse demonstration followed by a mass rally of 12,000 at the Forum on Nov. 2, called to denounce police repression.

The leadership of both the CNTU and the QFL have been forced to respond to the pressure from the ranks to defend labor from attack and to safeguard its hard-won rights. There has been a marked politicalization in the unions, with the capitalist press commenting ominously on the growth of a new, militant socialist outlook among the workers and in the labor hierarchy.

The leadership has responded with the formation of a Front Common (united front) of the three major trade union federations in Quebec, CNTU, QFL and the teachers' union.

Not the least significant aspect of the La Presse struggle is that it has brought the trade unions into sharp confrontation with the independentist but bourgeois Parti Quebecois. The PQ completely dissociated itself from the Oct. 29 labor demonstration and PQ national leader Rene Levesque has violently attacked the unions despite the support the struggle has found among PQ ranks and associations in working-class east-end Montreal. Levesque suggestively stated he "would rather live in a South American banana republic than in a Quebec run according to the rantings" of the trade union leadership.

In a television debate Nov. 12 between Levesque and QFL leader Louis Laberge, the latter defended the labor movement's decision to mobilize workers around social and political issues, against Levesque who dissociated the PQ, stating that it was a

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Why feminists focus on issue of abortion

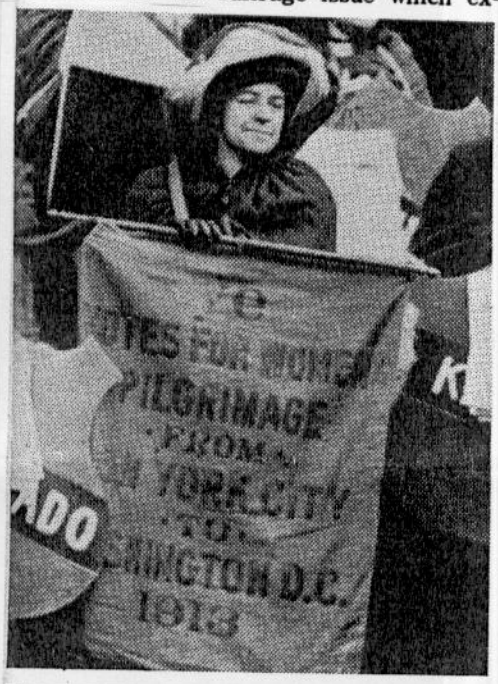
by Lis Angus

Some feminists feel that focusing on the abortion struggle will divert and possibly destroy the women's liberation movement. They argue, as Shulamith Firestone does in The Dialectic of Sex, that the early women's rights movement declined because its energies were channeled into one issue: suffrage.

Firestone acknowledges that suffrage was the only issue which could unite diverse women's organizations; but she has only contempt for "conservative feminism, with its concentration on broad, unitive, single-issues like suffrage" — which, though she does not mention it, involved literally millions of women in suffrage organizations across North America and Europe. She goes on to state that "the granting of the vote ... killed the women's rights movement."

This distorted view of the suffrage movement is based on opposition to mass action and a disdain for the importance of victories in building a movement. Applied to today's movement, this view is dangerous and defeatist.

"Single-issue organizing" did not kill the early feminist movement; it was precisely the focus on the suffrage issue which extended the women's movement into all corners of society, and which kept the movement alive and militant during times when most other social struggles had dissipated. A single focus gave the movement cohesion and strength, and demonstrated above all that women can organize as women to fight for and win important concessions.



Then. . .

The right to abortion has emerged today as the issue which is extending the boundaries of the feminist movement into all layers of society. It is precisely through struggle around issues such as these — and winning victories like these — that the feminist movement will grow.

And it is through such struggles that women will come to understand the limitations of this society's ability to meet their needs; more and more women will come to the conclusion that this whole system must be changed — that the struggle for feminism is the struggle for socialism.

What are the facts about the early feminist movement?

The women's movement did not exist in a vacuum. It blossomed in the mid-19th century in a period of widespread agitation for democratic rights for oppressed groups. The abolitionist movement in the U.S., the populist movement and the rebellion of 1837 in Canada, the farmers movement on the prairies, the international growth of the labor movement and the socialist movement — these formed the climate for the growth of the early feminist movement.

Although the early feminists agitated around many issues, including educational opportunities and less confining dress standards for women, the struggle for the vote emerged as the key issue before the movement — and correctly so: like denial of abortion, the denial of the vote was a blatant denial of women's right to control their destiny. If the suffragists had not won the vote, it would be one of the first tasks before today's movement.

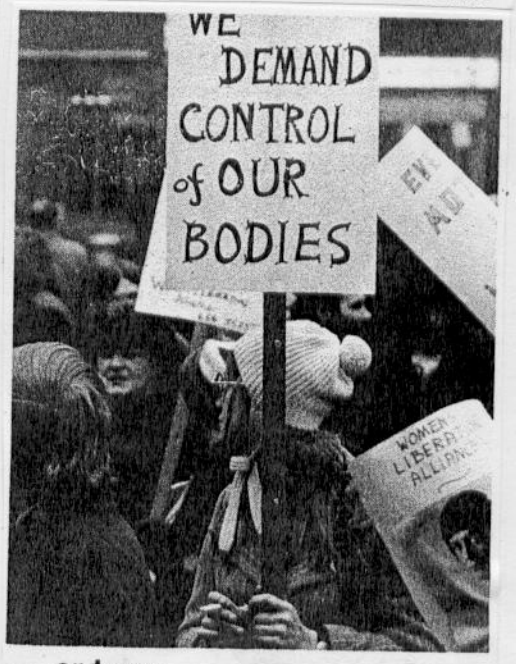
Increasing numbers of women were able to identify with the suffrage struggle. 100,000 signatures appeared on a suffrage petition presented in 1910 to the Ontario legislature. An Alberta petition around the same time had 12,000 signatures. The largest American suffrage organization had two million members in 1916.

It is true that the women's rights movement had real limitations. Most of the women involved — including the leadership — had illusions that the vote would give them the power to enact all the further reforms needed by women. But this reflected profound illusions they had about society in general: they did not understand how integral the oppression of women was to capitalist society, nor how limited was this society's ability to meet women's needs.

But in spite of these and other shortcomings, women won a real victory in the vote. Why then did the movement not go further than it did?

One of the biggest factors which drove feminism underground was the onset of a period of general reaction and conservatism produced by the economic expansion of the 1920s. The movement's leadership lacked an understanding of the character of class society; the socialist movement of the time — itself in a period of decline — did not respond to inject this understanding into the feminist movement.

Feminists turned to personal struggles rather than to organized political ones. The flappers of the 1920s, winning freedom of dress and appearance for women, were products of feminism, as were the women who individually extended the educational



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and professional rights won by earlier feminists.

Today's feminist movement surfaced in a period of worldwide radicalization around such issues as Vietnam, civil rights, national liberation. Increased educational opportunities and access to jobs for women make the myriad limitations imposed on their lives all the more blatant. At the same time, technological advances in birth control and abortion methods directly pose the possibility of women controlling what happens to their bodies.

The abortion issue assumes such central importance because it touches all women — even women who are only beginning to be affected by the radical ideas of our time can identify with this issue. Moreover, it strikes at the very root of woman's oppression. Women's lack of control of their bodies is used to back the claim that woman's nature is "subjective," that they are unable to control their minds.

And abortion is a far more profoundly radicalizing issue than the vote was. It leads women to consider other issues, other ways in which their lives are limited — above all, it puts the role of the family into question, by challenging women's subjection to the child-rearing role which is a basic underpinning of the family — a mainstay of capitalist society.

The fact that the suffrage movement existed and won the victories that it did means that today's movement can start out on a much higher level — we can build on the experiences and gains won by the early feminists through mass struggles.

The lessons of the suffrage movement can be applied to the movement of today: above all the need to organize masses of women around concrete struggles, to plan campaigns around key issues which can involve the greatest numbers of women.

Through their own experiences in such struggles, masses of Canadian women will learn the answers to such questions as: who are our oppressors? to what degree can this system satisfy the needs of women? who can we depend on as allies in our struggle? and how can we eliminate our oppression?

We need have no fear that the movement will be "bought off" with victory in the abortion issue or any other issue. Victory will only be a spur to the movement — it will give a tremendous impetus to building for future struggles. This is how the feminist movement will be built: through organizing around such concrete issues as abortion law repeal — issues which reach the present level of consciousness of masses of Canadian women and bring them into united struggle.

Today's feminist movement is a vital part of the deepening revolutionary process in this country. Women united in demanding total liberation for their sex will be a powerful force before, during, and after the coming Canadian revolution. And those women will be educated through such struggles as the abortion struggle.

#44 labor Challenge

MacInnis flays Trudeau

On Nov. 20, demonstrations will be taking place in major centers across Canada demanding repeal of the abortion laws. One of the major actions will be a mass women's assembly in Ottawa to call for abortion on demand. It is sponsored by the broadly-based Ontario Abortion Law Repeal Coalition.

One of the most consistent voices supporting the campaign has been that of Grace MacInnis, (NDP, Vancouver-Kingsway), the only woman MP. Scarcely a day goes by in parliament when she isn't on her feet demanding that the government bring the question of repealing the abortion laws before the house.

And despite the mounting popular support for abortion law repeal (a recent poll by Tory MP Lincoln Alexander in his riding, Hamilton West, found that 63.5 percent favored removing abortion from the Criminal Code), Trudeau and his ministers invariably turn down MacInnis' appeals.

Since her parliamentary interventions have been virtually ignored by the mass media, we are reprinting below the speech she gave Nov. 2. It is taken from the parliamentary record.

MacInnis is sponsor of a private member's bill presently before the house calling for repeal of those sections of the Criminal Code dealing with abortion. The pro-abortion movement across Canada is circulating a petition in support of this and a similar bill.

Mr. Speaker, in deliberately keeping the matter of abortion from being discussed in the House of Commons, the government is guilty of a series of very unfair and very cruel acts. It is forcing unknown numbers of women to bear unwanted children, with all the terrible consequences to them and to society. It is forcing women on low income to

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for hypocrisy on abortion

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face the horrors of a back street operator or the do-it-yourself procedures which cripple and kill. It is forcing women who can afford it to go to foreign countries for an abortion.

Last year 1,649 Canadian women had to seek such help in New York state. I understand that 44 percent of them were from the province of Quebec alone. It is forcing uncounted other women to run from hospital to hospital in Canada trying desperately to find one that will help them while the clock ticks remorselessly on and the authorities, with eyes averted from their misery, pass by on the other side.

It is permitting those who are opposed to abortion to force their will on the majority in Canada who believe, equally strongly, that abortion should be legalized. All these things are going on while the government washes its hands and refuses to accept responsibility for a situation which it alone can change. Yet last Friday the prime minister told a high school class in Nova Scotia that women should be the ones to decide whether they should have the legal right to have an abortion if they want one. The young folk applauded loudly, quite unaware of the fact that the prime minister is unwilling even to have a debate on abortion in this house this session, as he promised a year ago.

He told the students that he would be very much influenced by the overwhelming feeling of women. He said, "I don't feel I can speak with great authority on this because I am not a woman." Yet when I asked him this afternoon if he would bring in a measure to take abortion from the Criminal Code and allow the elected representatives of the people to vote on it, he completely side-stepped the question. He and his government are the only ones who can bring such a measure before parliament. Why don't they do it?

To have the law as it is now simply means that they are on the side of those who are opposed to abortion and are determined to force that position on everyone else, regardless of what it does to women in every part of Canada. Let there be no mistake about that. I can only hope that this attitude will arouse freedom-loving women and men to bring organized pressure on the government in order to show it how wrong it is.

The forces which today are preventing changes in the abortion law are the same ones who for years were successful in keeping birth control illegal and which will resist government action for effective methods of birth control across Canada. These are the forces responsible for unnecessarily large numbers of abortions. These are the forces causing untold suffering and injustice to thousands of women who should have the right to consult their doctors and seek an abortion safely, legally and openly.

On November 20 a large group of Canadian women are coming to Ottawa to impress upon the government the fact, as the prime minister told the students in Nova Scotia, that women should be the ones to decide whether they should have the legal right to an abortion. I trust that he will give them that opportunity by having a debate on the subject in parliament and then by introducing legislation to take abortion out of the Criminal Code and leaving it, as we leave all other medical procedures, a matter between the patient and her doctor, thus allowing both sides to practice their principles freely without either side trying to force its beliefs on the other.

labor Challenge

Challenge to Sask. convention

NDP must pose clear alternative

by Joe Young

SASKATOON — When the Saskatchewan NDP holds its annual convention in Regina Dec. 3-5, it will be the first time in close to 10 years that the party has met while in office. Delegates' decisions will be directives from the party rank and file addressed to their elected representatives who hold the power to implement those decisions. Thus the convention is an important test of the NDP membership's resolve, and the capacity of the party leadership — the government — to heed those opinions.

There is no question that the NDP government could do much more than it has. The Blakeney government was given a tremendous mandate at the last election. It has a resounding majority in the house. It has had plenty of time to act, to nationalize Imperial Oil's refinery, to abrogate the potash agreements which set a quota on Saskatchewan potash production to suit U.S. producers and to take over the potash mines, to end the Dore Lake pulp mill deal without compensation and to nationalize the Prince Albert pulp mill.

The universities could be placed under the control of the students and faculty, rather than the representatives of big business who now run them. Abortion clinics could be set up across the province, providing women with abortion on demand, and day care centers could be made available to all mothers who need them, free of charge. The government could intervene to improve the lot of the farmer by taking on the giant agribusiness interests.

Such actions would serve as examples to the working people across Canada and help to rally them against the capitalist rulers. To carry out these policies successfully the government would have to mobilize the people of Saskatchewan on a broad scale, educating them as to the correctness of these policies and involving the people in actively defending their interests against the corporations and the federal government.

Unfortunately some party members suggest that the Blakeney government has to be given more time to carry out its policies. Some suggest that the government has to go slow or it will isolate itself from the people of the province. Others suggest that within the provincial framework there is really not much which can be done.

People voted for an alternative when they voted for the NDP. The Ontario election showed how the failure of the NDP to pose itself as a clear cut alternative to big business can cost the party dearly in terms of support. In this period of rising unemployment, growing inflation and farm crisis, the working people are looking for far-reaching policies which will meet their needs. That is what they will support.

As for the argument that the NDP cannot do very much in one province, one just has to look back at the pioneering effort of the NDP in medicare in Saskatchewan. Medicare was brought in despite tremendous opposition and now it has become established across Canada, even if inadequately. The NDP could do a lot, as has been outlined above, if the leadership wasn't oriented to making capitalism work better, instead of trying to replace capitalism with socialism.

The convention must attempt to commit the government to a program of confrontation with the corporations. Blakeney and company will try to argue that the party shouldn't "tie the government's hands" — in effect, that the government is not responsible to the party. The candidates were chosen by the party, their program was decided by the party and they were elected through the party's efforts. The government must carry out party policy.

The left wing of the party, grouped around the "Waffle" caucus, has the responsibility to give leadership to those who want the party to take an alternative course. At the last convention the Waffle was able to rally the support of about 30 percent of the delegates, around the leadership candidacy of Don Mitchell. In this convention the Waffle must pose a consistent alternative to the make-capitalism-work policies of the Blakeney government.

The possibility of rallying broad support is there. Already the Saskatchewan Federation of Labor convention has firmly rebuked Premier Allan Blakeney's ominous support for wage controls.

The provincial steering committee of the Waffle has generally stood aside from the mass actions in the extraparliamentary arena. They have failed to back the antiwar movement and the campaign to repeal the abortion laws.

The Waffle should campaign for public ownership of the resources industry, for provincial government support to the campaign for repeal of abortion laws, for all-out support to the farmers in their struggles against agribusiness. Above all, the concept of the provincial government as a mobilizer of the people against the corporations and the Trudeau government should be put forward.

An open caucus of the left should be organized, open to all delegates who support such objectives, which will decide democratically the left's intervention in the convention, including the question of contesting some key seats on the executive bodies to consolidate the Waffle's presence in the party. Waffle spokespersons should be ready to speak out on all the major questions. This is the challenge before the Waffle.

SASKATCHEWAN RADICALIZES. Students at University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, rallied 3,000 strong against Amchitka nuclear test. NDP government must be responsive to, and lead such popular protest movements.

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Reject Schreyer's course in Manitoba

by Dennis Lomas

WINNIPEG — The June, 1969 election victory of the Manitoba NDP posed the question: "Who is to rule in Manitoba, big business or the working people?"

More than two years later, as we approach the NDP provincial convention Nov. 20, it must be said that the Schreyer government has in no way seriously challenged big business control of Manitoba. Nor has the NDP administration even drawn clear lines of division between itself and the parties of big business, the Liberals and Conservatives.

The NDP's failure to project a dynamic labor alternative in the Ontario election resulted in its failure to extend its base of support. Is the Schreyer government's vacillation before the business interests to result in demoralization of the labor rank and file, with consequent loss of electoral strength and political office? These are questions every activist in the NDP and socialist movement must pose at this convention.

What is the record of the Schreyer government, and what should it be doing?

In the public auto insurance battle, the one time that the government came out directly against a section of big business, Schreyer watered down the legislation to win the support of a Liberal MLA and pulled back from a planned massive campaign in support of the government plan which would have shown NDP supporters the force of their collective strength and countered the demagogic mobilizations of insurance agents by the companies.

Similarly when the Winnipeg NDP forces attempted to continue the momentum of the 1969 provincial victory and run a slate on the party label for municipal office, the Schreyer government and the provincial party refused to back the slate and Schreyer publicly dissociated himself from this important effort.

Schreyer erodes the collective strength of the NDP by his well-known disregard for, even contempt of, official NDP policy as adopted by convention.

His expressed support for a federal incomes policy — a wage freeze — and his scandalous statements in support of Trudeau's War Measures Act last fall are two notorious examples.

Like the Liberal and Tory governments in other provinces and Ottawa, the Schreyer government has done nothing to meet the demands of particularly oppressed groups, the women, native peoples and students. Schreyer has opposed the federal NDP's stand for repeal of abortion laws and allowed Joe Borowski to use his cabinet post for many months as a forum for anti-abortion, anti-women and racist speeches. Only a widespread public outcry against Borowski, led by pro-abortion forces, moved Schreyer to dump him.

Manitoba could have led the way in women's rights — by using its control of provincial hospitals to make abortions available to all women who want them, by expanding day care facilities, by using the Manitoba Human Rights Act to end wage and advancement discrimination against women.

The NDP government has turned its back

Ed Schreyer

on Indian demands for self-determination. When Indian and Metis at The Pas last year demanded priority in hiring and job training Schreyer branded their demands as "unreasonable."

The government has shown no responsiveness whatsoever to student protests against the alienating education system, as in the recent West Kildonan student strikes for non-compulsory class attendance. Yet through its jurisdiction over education, it could enact student-faculty-support staff control of education. By increased taxation of the large corporations which benefit most from the present system of higher education, the universities could be opened to all regardless of economic means by granting students a living wage and expanding facilities.

Even the labor base of the party is ignored by this government. The Winnipeg labor council secretary-treasurer has charged that the provincial Labor Relations Board under the NDP is harder on trade unions seeking certification than the previous Conservative-appointed board was. Manitoba's Labor Relations Act is no better than Ontario's.

Labor's struggles against inflation, unemployment and plant closures could be given a tremendous boost if the NDP were to use its control of the provincial government to

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Continued from page 8

show the alternatives to closures and layoffs. Plants threatening to close should be placed under public ownership and incorporated into an ever-increasing public sector operating under a provincial planning board and controlled by the workers themselves. A powerful public sector offering low-cost goods to consumers could help undercut big business monopoly pricing practices.

By putting the giant Churchill Forest Industries pulp and paper complex under public ownership the government would not only repatriate the millions of tax dollars already shelled out to this mysterious foreign-owned consortium; it could then launch a large-scale resources development project under public ownership and control, to open up the interior and north of the province and provide jobs and useful training to native peoples.

Above all, the Manitoba NDP must use its elected position in the legislature as an organizing and propaganda base, employing mass action in the streets to mobilize support for its policies against big business.

The Manitoba NDP government, now bolstered by its counterpart in Saskatchewan, should be taking the lead in the struggle against Trudeau's reactionary policies. Instead, their programs in action scarcely differ from those of the Liberals and Conservatives.

As Schreyer told an interviewer shortly after the NDP's election victory, he believes "the notion of government ownership of production, distribution and exchange....should be looked upon by a social-democrat almost as uncomfortably as by a liberal." When more and more people are demanding fundamental change, when dynamic working class leadership is necessary, Schreyer remains a self-confessed "believer in evolution and gradualism." And the more gradual the better, it would seem.

The struggle to make the NDP government respond to the needs of the working people in Manitoba is long overdue. The Schreyer government must be made responsible to the NDP and the labor and farmer movements, and must carry out programs for action decided upon at the conventions of the party.

The task of the delegates to this convention is to confront the party and the government with that challenge — to pose before the party both a program for legislative action and a policy of supporting the mass protest movements outside the party, especially the labor movement in its ongoing struggles with the bosses.

labor Challenge #44 Nov 1971

Who sets policy for Sask. NDP gov't ?

by Ullrich Fischer

SASKATOON — A look at the legislative record of the NDP government in the five months since it was elected, shows it has fallen far short of the possibilities which flow from the voters' hopes at the time of the election, or the program which would seem to be the logical outcome of its criticism of the Liberals' record — or, for that matter, the resolutions passed by the previous NDP convention.

Of course, during its first legislative session the new NDP administration under Premier Allan Blakeney repealed some of the most glaring abominations that had been foisted on the people of Saskatchewan by the Thatcher government. The antilabor Bill 2 was removed, deterrent fees on medicare were eliminated, elderly persons were exempted from paying medicare premiums, and the Dore Lake pulp mill disaster was averted.

But what has happened to the labor program adopted at the last provincial convention:

— A minimum wage of $2.00 per hour now with further increases to be tied to the cost of living. All Blakeney has done is reconstitute the minimum wage board and await its recommendations.

— A sliding scale of hours to fight unemployment through technology changes, and immediate implementation of the 30-hour work week with no loss in pay. Blakeney actually boasted to the Humboldt federal nominating convention that the government has finally reduced the legal work week to 40 hours.

— A charter of labor rights guaranteeing the right to strike, collective bargaining and a "meaningful say" for workers on all vital economic and social matters, and banning of injunctions against labor.

And what of the NDP's proposal for a Land Bank, one of the major controversies of the election, and a key factor in winning NDP support among farmers? The Land Bank would buy land from farmers at competitive prices, then lease it to individuals or cooperatives on the basis of guaranteed land tenure, and with proper measures taken to ensure that private enterprise does not have access to the Bank for accumulation of large tracts of land. Not very complicated, and an important measure against the threat of corporate farms replacing the prairie farmer. But Blakeney says this proposal is still being "investigated."

On women's rights, the last convention called for the abolition of abortion laws, and free distribution of birth control information and devices. The leadership has said nothing on these issues since the convention. In his progress report to the Saskatoon Humboldt nominating meeting, Blakeney did not even **mention women's rights.**

Allan Blakeney

Another major issue in the election campaign was the way in which foreign corporations were stealing our resources while being subsidized by tax money in their theft. The NDP made an excellent and convincing case that the pulp mills (the existing mill at Prince Albert and the proposed venture at Dore Lake) were a bad deal, compiling mountains of evidence of ecological damage at the P.A. mill, exposing the financial details of the sellout agreement between the Liberal government and Parsons and Wittemore.

Clearly, with the vast popular support the government enjoys, it has a mandate to not only reject out of hand any further payment to the Dore Lake project, but further to expropriate without compensation the P.A. mill and to operate it as a publicly-owned corporation in the interests of the people of Saskatchewan.

The unilateral shutdown by Imperial Oil of its refinery in Regina afforded the NDP government an excellent opportunity to implement its convention policy on development of Saskatchewan resources through nationalization. In keeping with its shyness of offending the investors whose irresponsible decisions adversely affect all the people of Saskatchewan, the government has done nothing.

Yet another example of government failure to project leadership on popular issues: numerous efforts by the antiwar movement to get the Blakeney administration to take a public stand endorsing the protests against the Amchitka blast and the Vietnam war protests recently were met by delays and indifference.

Clearly, a key demand in the developing struggle for rank-and-file democracy in the NDP and for a class-struggle leadership responsive to the labor-farmer base of the party, must be that the legislative caucus and government stand firmly by the decisions of the party convention.

The revolutionary thrust of Irish Nationalism

Labor Challenge, November 1971

Review by David Williams
IRELAND IN REBELLION, *by Gerry Foley. Pathfinder Press*

Mass resistance to the internment of hundreds of persons in Northern Ireland — ranging from moderate civil rights leaders and members of the Stormont parliament to suspected members or supporters of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) — continues unabated. But the jackboot occupation by the British army has intensified, backed by local contingents of the notoriously bigoted Royal Ulster Constabulary and the formally-disbanded B-Specials. In recent days, there have been revelations in the British press of brutal torture practiced by the British occupation forces on their political prisoners.

The press coverage on this continent of the Irish struggle has increased in volume since the beginning of the internments in early August of this year, but little light has been shed on the living dynamics of the struggle. For this reason we welcome a 32-page Pamphlet *Ireland in Rebellion*, by Gerry Foley, just released by Pathfinder Press, and distributed in Canada by Crescent Publications. Written following the author's visit to Ireland last year, the pamphlet provides a revolutionary socialist analysis of the nationalist struggle and some of the major political challenges before the republican movement today.

The pamphlet also includes interviews by Foley with two leaders of the republican movement, Cathal Goulding, chief of Staff of the Irish Republican Army and Tomas MacGiolla, president of Sinn Fein.

The Irish struggle "is probably the oldest continuous struggle against oppression in the history of mankind," notes Foley in his introduction. "For leadership, these oppressed descendants of free clansmen now look to socialists like Bernadette Devlin and the revolutionary nationalists of the Irish Republican Army, who oppose class society not just in Ireland but throughout the world."

Referring to the establishment of the Republic of Ireland (Eire) following the civil war of 1920-22, Foley notes that "Ireland, England's oldest colony, was the first in modern times to defeat British imperialism in armed conflict."

The struggle today has important international ramifications:

"Slowly, but surely, the militancy of the nationalist ghettos in the British fortress state of Northern Ireland seems to be preparing the way for a new and decisive battle against British imperialism which, in today's context, would threaten to set off powerful explosions in the heartland of the imperialist world. At the very least, it would be likely to destroy forever the stability of the United Kingdom, which has been the most stable and peaceful of all the capitalist countries. This battle might, in fact, be the first of the series of revolutions that will end the reign of capitalism — ‘the English system' as John Mitchell, the fiercest of the Irish rebels of 1848, called it."

In the main article, entitled "Why Socialism is Coming to the Fore in Ireland," Foley shows clearly the revolutionary dynamic of the national question. "Radical separatism is endemic in the Catholic population, both because of its social position and its history. Every expression of this tendency comes into conflict with the communalist establishment, in particular with its ecclesiastic underpinning. As a result of this conflict and the fact that the major forms of private property originated in the conquest, radical separatism tends toward socialist revolution. . . This revolutionary tendency has never become fully crystallized. . . but is the most powerful force in Irish history, and no development can be understood apart from it."

Foley traces the evolution of the Irish nationalist movement, particularly over the past decade. He shows the significance of the break made by a section of the movement with the 26-counties government in Dublin, which collaborates closely with Britain. The importance of British rule in both the South and the North is underlined by Tomas MacGiolla of Sinn Fein, who is quoted as saying in a speech: "Labor in Ireland must overcome capital in Ireland and the power of capital is enormously strengthened by the union with Britain. It is therefore in the interests of all workers, small farmers and men of no property to smash the union with Britain and to break the grip of British imperial rule in Ireland."

"The most significant aspect of republicanism," says Foley, "is that it is the only radical force in Ireland which seems to understand the revolutionary potential of Irish nationalism and to be trying to realize it. This fact alone distinguishes the republicans from traditional reformists."

"It is inevitable that before the seventies end, Britain's claim to a right to interfere in Irish affairs will again be challenged in arms. This time we must win," says a statement of the official IRA. "This time we can win — because this time it will be a revolutionary struggle of the Irish people and not a military challenge by a small heroic minority."

This statement comes at the end of a whole section of the statement which draws a balance sheet of the defeat of the 1956-62 terrorist campaign. This balance sheet was the basis of the split in the movement. A minority grouping broke away in 1969 to carry on in the purely military traditions of the IRA, calling themselves the "Provisionals."

The Officials have gone beyond the military struggle, linking the national question with social demands. A major part of this pamphlet is devoted to a discussion of how this must be done. Particularly interesting here is Foley's argument that the republican movement should cease abstaining from the electoral arena.

"Electoral activity," he says, "offers an opportunity to explain broad alternatives to the people, to test programmatic points, to give a focus to varied direct actions and popular initiatives. . . The ability of a radical movement to develop effective revolutionary electoral campaigns is one of the indexes of how thoroughly it understands its society, how deep its critique of bourgeois institutions goes. It is a vital task of socialist movements to make revolutionary objectives seem real and practical to the masses, who have been conditioned to regard the structure of bourgeois society as natural. . .

"Numerous signs indicate that a sizeable section of the nationalist population is at the end of its patience with the system that exists", says Foley. "After more than a year of recurring outbreaks, the struggle in the North seems to require something further reaching than democratic demands. Some real perspective for radical social and economic change must be offered, at least to the most militant section of the population."

Foley concludes that "for centuries the Irish people fought an essentially defensive struggle against ever more oppressive centralizing forces. The momentum of history was against them. Now the wheel of history is beginning to turn in favor of the ideals of this struggle."

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Aim to reconquer Ireland from British-IRA leader

Sean Kenny, North American representative of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and Joint General Secretary of the Irish Sinn Fein, began a cross Canada speaking tour in Toronto Nov. 4. He appeared on the cross country television program "Under Attack" and on Nov. 5 addressed a press conference in Toronto's City Hall.

Since that time his meetings in Toronto, Hamilton, Regina, Saskatoon, Edmonton, and Vancouver have been well attended and controversial, his statements and appearances being closely reported by the press and media, especially the student press.

In Hamilton, Kenny's meeting was disrupted by Union Jack-waving supporters of the Orange Order, an organization of Protestant and pro-British bigots who sought to prevent Kenny from being heard. But the meeting carried on and Kenny was heard.

"The aim of the IRA is the reconquest of Ireland from the British — river by river, farm by farm, city by city, until Ireland is in the hands of the Irish people, we will continue," Kenny said, over the shouts of the disrupters.

Kenny is being accompanied on his tour by Don Tapscott, the Southern Ontario regional organizer of the Young Socialists.

A highpoint of Kenny's tour was the West Coast — Vancouver and Victoria — where two support groups were established. Kenny spoke to wide audiences over radio and TV and in Vancouver addressed three campus meetings of over 300 people each and a downtown meeting of 400 people.

Other tour stops will include Brandon, Winnipeg, St. Catharines, Guelph, Peterborough, Ottawa, Montreal and Halifax.

Kenny has stated that the purpose of his visit to Canada is to put the case of the Irish republican cause directly to the Canadian public and to raise funds for Irish political prisoners and their families.

The current (November 1971) issue of Young Socialist carries extensive excerpts from a talk made by Kenny last August to the Waterloo Socialist Educational Conference. Order from Box 517, Station A, Toronto, at 15 cents per copy, $1.00 for a year's subscription.

photo by Eamon Melaugh

IN OCCUPIED IRELAND. British troops man barbed-wire barricades during demonstration by jobless workers. Author of "Ireland in Rebellion" argues that the developing revolution in Ireland, both national and social, can be "the first of the series of revolutions that will end the reign of capitalism — 'the English system'. . ."

Revolutionist assassinated

Peter Graham, a leading Irish Trotskyist, was found murdered in a Dublin flat Oct. 27. The London Observer, in a dispatch from Dublin, Oct. 28 reports that "Graham, a 26-year-old Dubliner, was a founding member of the Young Socialists here and since his body was discovered ... the city has been buzzing with rumors that the murder was political in motivation and brutal in execution."

Graham had recently returned to Ireland after a stay in Britain where he joined the International Marxist Group (IMG), the British section of the Fourth International. He had become active in the Irish workers movement through the Connolly youth movement and then rapidly moved towards the Trotskyist viewpoint. Since his return to Ireland, Graham had been working to set up an Irish section of the Fourth International.

Delegations from the IRA and other Irish republican and socialist tendencies attended his funeral. Bernadette Devlin, MP was one of the 12 women who flanked the funeral hearse.

The Graham funeral became itself a militant solidarity action by the Irish revolutionary left against the repression in Ireland.

The political committee of the IMG, through which Graham had joined the Fourth International, issued a commemorative statement Oct. 30 which salutes Peter Graham's contribution to the cause of the socialist revolution.

"Following this severe political loss," the IMG stated, "we express our renewed solidarity with the comrades of the Young Socialists and particularly of the Marxist Discussion Group. The building of the Irish section of the Fourth International will be greatly inspired by the work and memory of comrade Peter Graham."

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Ernest Mandel on Canadian tour

Ernest Mandel, internationally renowned Belgian Marxist economist and theoretician, will be speaking on many Canadian campuses in December. Mandel, a leader in the world Trotskyist movement, will be taking up such questions as the resurgence of workers struggles in Western Europe; the world monetary crisis; Britain and the Common Market; and the European debate around workers control and self-management.

Mandel has written many important works on socialist theory, contemporary social struggles, and Marxist economics. His two volume treatise on Marxist Economic Theory has won the acclaim and respect of economists in many countries and his pamphlet Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory is now being used as a text in many European, Canadian and American universities.

Mandel has been barred from such countries as Switzerland, France and Australia, where government leaders feared his revolutionary ideas. This year he was banned from visiting the United States but has fought an important court battle, so far successful, to overturn the law under which he was banned. He is still denied a visa to the U.S. because the State Department is appealing to the U.S. Supreme Court to uphold its ban, after Mandel was supported by an earlier court decision.

The cross-Canada tour has been organized by the Young Socialists-Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes. Mandel's schedule will be: Dec. 6, Hamilton; Dec. 7, Brandon; Dec. 8, Winnipeg; Dec. 9, Saskatoon; Dec. 10, Vancouver; Dec. 11-13, Montreal; and Dec. 14-16, Toronto and Southern Ontario points. Mandel has been invited to speak by universities in each of the cities he will visit.

Ernest Mandel

He will address a Quebec-wide educational conference of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere-Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes in Montreal Dec. 13.

Further information about Mandel's tour schedule can be obtained by writing the Young Socialists, 334 Queen Street West, Toronto 133, Ontario or by contacting the YS in your city.

Drive for 4,000 new readers

Will we make it?

by Peter Sharpe
Cross-Canada sub drive director

NOV. 15 — With one week to go, the joint Labor Challenge, Young Socialist and Liberation drive for 4,000 new readers has now reached 3,024 subscriptions, with 1,176 for Labor Challenge, 1,469 for Young Socialist and 379 for Liberation.

York University leads the way with 130 percent of its quota. We are assured that many areas like Vancouver, St. Catharines, Hamilton and Victoria will reach their quotas. Toronto is planning a series of last-push projects and report that they are confident they will go over the top.

The big upsurge in labor struggles in Quebec reported in this issue of Labor Challenge has led to a real growth in sales and influence of the voice of the socialist wing of the independentist movement, Liberation. On the day of the mass rally of 12,000 in the Montreal forum, Liberation came out with a special issue. Sales were brisk that night, as they have been in Quebec since the mass language demonstration on Oct. 16. Since then Liberation has sold itself out of two issues, more than 4,000 copies in all.

In order to respond to this upsurge and as part of a campaign to help build a Quebec-wide Socialist Educational Conference in Montreal on Dec. 11-12, the editors of Liberation have decided to extend their drive into the conference. That conference, at which leading figures from the Quebec language movement, the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, and internationally-known Belgian Marxist Ernest Mandel will speak, will culminate the whole fall period of mass actions and campaigns in which Quebec independentists and revolutionary socialists have been active.

In our next issue, we will publish the final scoreboard for the joint subdrive, which we are confident will announce the success of the campaign.

Scoreboard

	Goal	Subs	o/o
York	100	130	130
Vancouver	600	586	98
St. Catharines	100	97	97
Hamilton	100	97	97
Victoria	50	45	90
Sudbury	50	44	88
Toronto	1100	900	82
Saskatoon	150	119	80
Guelph	50	35	70
Ottawa	150	102	68
Peterborough	125	80	64
Montreal	400	239	60
Richmond Hill	50	28	56
Kitchener-Waterloo	135	73	54
Hull	80	34	43
Winnipeg	125	49	39
Halifax	100	32	32
Regina	10	3	30
Fredericton	100	18	18
Edmonton	200	32	16
Quebec	—	33	—
Foreign	150	156	104
General	75	92	123
	4000	3024	76

NO
Ed - Ph1-20 - General - Speech edited (written?) by R.D. (Found in Ph1(?))
Ward 6 - Board of Trustee candidate speech 1961?

Edited by R.D.

The automation revolution faces us today. Thousands of jobs each weekx are lost to machines. Today's high school students are tomorrow's work force. Tomorrow they will face recurring job displacement and job retraining. They will need a great deal of ~~skill~~ flexibility and technical skill to take their place in a changing ~~world.~~ world that is

Our educational system must prepare students to meet these changes. By and large, the policies of the other candidates would maintain the status quo - a horse and buggy educational system in a world of jet airliners and cosmonauts. Today's needs demand more than the present educational system can give.

It is necessary to expand school facilities, place greater emphasis on the sciences, make classrooms smaller to permit individual attention, and provide teachers with secretaries to release them from administrative details.

Education must now be the development of the creative abilities inherent in each student. Hence I call for student participation in determining the conditions under which students will learn.

The history texts used in our schools do not present an accurate history of Canada. They are no more than an accumulation of incidents, dates and facts. Emphasis is placed on the roles of kings, queens and prime ministers while little mention is made of the working people who created our factories, railways, highways and modern buildings. Textbooks do not include the history of labor unions and the role they have played in developing our standard of living.

Only 17.6% of the University of Toronto student body are

the sons and daughters of skilled and unskilled hourly-paid workers. Our universities, financed by our taxes, should be open to all.

Most mothers of small children are unable to play a meaningful role in community life because adequate day-care nurseries do not exist. The community shouldpprovide public nurseries for all children in order to free these mothers.

There can be no talk of insufficient funds to meet these needs. There is no lack of funds for the arming of Canada with weapons of awesome destructive potential with no defensive value. The needs of the people must come first. I pledge myself to work for these changes and to serve the interests of the working people on the Borad of Education as a represen aitve of the voters of Ward 6

Why Trudeau stalled the Gray report

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Special feature

Ernest Mandel: What is Trotskyism?

pages 5-8

Rallies for right to abortion advance women's struggle

A view of the Nov. 20 abortion repeal demonstration on Parliament Hill, Ottawa. photo by Arnie Mintz

by Linda Blackwood

A mass women's assembly in Ottawa was the focus for enthusiastic actions across the country Nov. 20 demanding repeal of the anti-abortion laws.

These actions were part of the first international actions held around the issue of abortion and a woman's right to choose.

The rallies were an important step in the campaign and reflected the growing broad support for repeal.

Ontario

OTTAWA — Close to 400 men and women from all over Ontario including Toronto, Hamilton, Peterborough, Windsor, and Kitchener-Waterloo marched from the Supreme Court building to Parliament Hill chanting "Women Unite, Stand Up and Fight, Safe Abortion is Our Right."

Speakers at the rally included Laura Sabia, chairwoman of the National Ad Hoc Committee on the Status of Women, Dr. Harriet Christie of the United Church, Lorna Grant, staff coordinator of the Ontario Women's Abortion Law Repeal Coalition, and representatives from coalitions in B.C., Manitoba, Quebec and the United States.

Greetings were received from abortion repeal coalitions in many areas. From England came the message "London, Glasgow, Bristol, Liverpool, Nottingham, York and Newcastle, sisters throughout Britain in solidarity November 20th for a

r l'Abrogation des lois sur l'avortement
the Women's Coalition for Abortion Law
eal was the largest women's demon-
ation ever held in Montreal.
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ntown Montreal stopping briefly before
nier Bourassa's office to protest the
incial government's complicity — and
much more acute situation facing
ecoises as almost no therapeutic
ions are performed in French hospitals
ebec. The march then continued into two

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p. 2

woman's right to choose. Greetings to our Canadian sisters."

A feature of the rally following the march was a mock trial which found the Canadian government guilty of causing mental anguish and physical suffering to the women of this country.

Testimonials from a number of women painted a grim picture of the mental and physical suffering Canadian women undergo because of the unjust abortion laws.

Quebec

MONTREAL — Up to 500 men and women marched in Montreal Nov. 20.

The action organized by the Front Commun pour l'Abrogation des lois sur l'avortement and the Women's Coalition for Abortion Law Repeal was the largest women's demonstration ever held in Montreal. Predominantly French, the action was very militant and clearly showed the rapidly growing sentiment among Quebecoises to join the struggles for women's rights.

The demonstration marched through downtown Montreal stopping briefly before Premier Bourassa's office to protest the provincial government's complicity — and the much more acute situation facing Quebecoises as almost no therapeutic abortions are performed in French hospitals in Quebec. The march then continued into two

See page 10

... Nov. 20 actions

Continued from page 1

halls where rallies, French and English were held. Speakers at the two rallies included representatives from the Quebec NDP, Voice of Women, the Womens Action Movement, the Mouvement pour la Liberation de la Quebecoise, the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, and several prominent individuals including Dr. Henry Morgentaler, a doctor now under indictment for performing abortions.

The demonstration had originally been planned to march to the criminal court but were denied this right under Drapeau's unconstitutional by-law which prohibited demonstrations in that sector of the city. A delegation of four women carried a symbolic action to the Criminal Court where they laid a wreath reading "death to the abortion laws."

The Front Commun organized a very successful cultural benefit on the Friday night prior to the demonstrations. It featured five top Quebec "artistes" including Pauline Julien and Yvon Deschamps.

B.C.

VANCOUVER — One hundred and fifty people marched through downtown Vancouver chanting "Join the march, join the fight, abortion is our right." Supporters of the march included the B.C. Family Planning Association, Vancouver and District Labor Council, and the Burrard YWCA. Speakers at the rally included representatives from the United Church and the High School Birth Control Rights Committee.

Alberta

EDMONTON — Seventy-five people marched to the provincial legilature and presented a brief to the government.

Saskatchewan

REGINA — In a spirited rally inside the provincial legislature, 75 men and women presented a brief to the NDP Minister of Labor and Welfare. The minister told the demonstrators that a committee was studying the question of abortion. Over 40 people came by chartered bus from Saskatoon for the action.

Manitoba

WINNIPEG — A teach-in at the University of Manitoba attracted over 200 students to a lively debate. Most of the students were sympathetic to the panelists who spoke in favor of repeal. On Nov. 20, 50 women marched to the Legislature to present a brief to a representative of the federal government.

International

The largest demonstration for the right to abortion took place in Paris where 5,000 people demonstrated against the "condition of women in society" and against the abortion laws. With cries of "Work, family, country, enough" and of "Free abortion and contraception on demand," the cortege took on an atmosphere of a street festival. Among the demonstrators was Simone de Beauvoir.

In the United States, over 6,000 women marched in Washington and San Francisco in the first feminist march since 1913 when women demonstrated for the right to vote in Washington, D.C. The marches were loud and spirited. In Washington the chant was "Our bodies, our lives, our right to decide" and "One, two three, four, we want abortions — not war."

In San Francisco, the sight of thousands of women and men demonstrating for abortion law repeal evoked many responses from onlookers, most of which were very favorable.

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New question confronts coalition

Abortion law: toward repeal oreform?

by Joan Newbigging

Over the past months the movement for repeal of the abortion laws has grown considerably. Organizations and individuals with widely divergent views on other issues have united together in abortion law repeal coalitions across Canada.

Their agreement on the need to get rid of the abortion laws and to make sure that any woman who wants an abortion can get one is based on different and often contradictory reasons.

Many would agree with the feminist view that we are fighting for justice for women: for a woman's right to control her body. Some hold that the law prohibiting abortion is unenforceable, causes needless suffering and therefore should be removed. Some see it as a social problem of unwanted children or of overpopulation.

The power of the coalitions stems from the fact that they are uniting together such widely diverse forces into a single movement. But such a broad coalition must be entirely clear on its goal. We must hold firm to the basic concept that brought us together: abortion, a woman's right to choose.

There are many in the coalitions who would be inclined to accept token changes, steps in the right direction, in the belief that these will alleviate the present situation, whereas such concessions may serve only to confuse many activists in the struggle and to undercut it.

This could become a real danger. Already the government is under considerable pressure from the repeal movement. It may well seek to cut across this movement by making some concessions and further "liberalizing" the law. In this situation we have to be just as clear on what we don't want as on what we do want.

This discussion has been raised in the Ontario Women's Abortion Law Repeal Coalition around a policy statement adopted by a majority of the OWALRC working committee and presently being circulated within the coalition. The final version as adopted by the coalition will be presented to Justice Minister Turner at a private hearing in Ottawa.

The policy statement flows from a three-pronged policy motion adopted by the Ontario Women's Abortion Action Conference which launched the Ontario coalition. This motion called for repeal of the abortion laws from the Criminal Code, the implementation of federal legislation to ensure a woman's right to abortion, and any further details considered necessary when the legal committee reported back to the coalition. The policy statement under discussion encompasses the legal committee's recommendations.

At Parliament Hill, Nov. 20. photo by White

The contentions part of this statement centers around its detailed projections for new federal legislation. Although the policy of the coalition as a whole is that the federal government should introduce legislation to ensure a woman's right to abortion, it is clear from the discussions in the coalition so far that it would be a mistake to detail this legislation.

The statement specifies that such legislation should provide that abortion be performed only by qualified people, in approved facilities and "up to some outside limit between 12 and 20 weeks of pregnancy." Its intent is to allow for a broad interpretation of qualified people and approved facilities.

The motivation for these proposals is essentially two-fold. Firstly, to ensure that abortion remains within federal jurisdiction after repeal, and thereby to prevent provincial governments from reintroducing in the future laws limiting a woman's access to abortion. Secondly, to appear reasonable and practical.

In opposition to this, the viewpoint has been put forward that such detailed projections should be rejected by the coalition as unnecessary and dangerous; that they cut across the basic principle on which the coalition was built: the right of a woman to choose whether or not to have an abortion.

Specifying the details of new federal legislation on abortion only serves to bring to the fore the differences that exist within the coalition. The various groups and individuals in the coalition stand for different things within the context of repeal; such detailed projections can only divide or limit the coalition.

The central issue the coalition is based on is abortion law repeal. The primary problem women face in trying to get abortions stems from the fact that abortion is a crime. We have united to build the largest possible movement to force the government to remove the abortion laws from the Criminal Code. We must not allow ourselves to get diverted from this goal.

The fundamental problem posed by the policy statement proposals is that, far from ensuring a woman's right to abortion, they would limit it. In this sense, they would cut across the mandate of the Ontario Women's Abortion Action Conference.

It in no way advances our cause to specify that abortions be performed only in approved facilities and by qualified people. It is unclear what the implications of these provisions are. Would abortion remain a crime if performed under other conditions? And if so, who would be the criminal? The woman? As they stand

→p.2

these provisions leave it open for a woman to be victimized if for any reason, such as limited approved facilities or insufficient qualified personnel, she is forced or chooses to obtain an abortion under other conditions.

The provisions are misleading. They would suggest that the problem of illegal abortionists rests either with irresponsible women or with the illegal abortionists themselves, that to legislate against them is to solve the problem. But the problem rests squarely with the government for not providing adequate facilities and adequate qualified personnel.

The proposals concede to the prejudice that abortion is some sort of special medical procedure requiring special laws. We want to get rid of all the misconceptions that there is something different, perhaps unnatural, about abortion. It should be subject to the same regulations as all other medical procedures.

Finally, these provisions in no way solve the problem of pressing the provincial governments to make abortion available to women. Each province would define what was meant by "approved facilities" and "qualified personnel," and could do so in such a way as to sharply limit a woman's right to abortion.

The most dangerous part of the proposals is that limiting a woman's right to abortion to some time between 12 and 20 weeks. These time limits are based on those specified in the report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women and the position of the Canadian Medical Association. Essentially they hold that at around that time the fetus becomes viable (achieves some measure of autonomy) and assumes certain rights.

But such time limits are an insult to our dignity as human beings. They say that we are incapable of making responsible decisions about our lives. They mean that after a certain period of pregnancy the state would assume control over our bodies, presumably because at that time we suddenly become irresponsible.

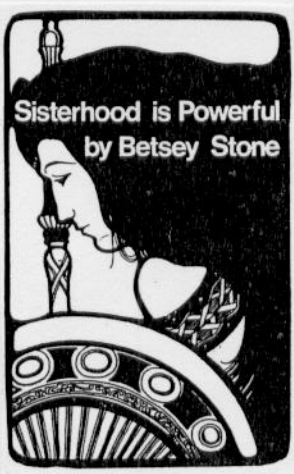
The plays to all sorts of misconceptions about viability. Who can say when a particular stage of pregnancy has been reached? Or define when a fetus has become viable? Some would base their view on religious myths about the soul; others, on the degree to which technology has developed. If scientists were to develop a method of keeping a week-old fertilized egg alive and growing, would abortion at that stage then become a crime?

It would be a grave error for the coalition to take a position on this issue. To do so would be to splinter it. The forces in the coalition are agreed on the need to repeal the abortion laws, on a woman's right to choose whether or not to have an abortion. They cannot agree on limits on this right.

This debate is a crucial one for the whole abortion repeal movement. Is the movement going to take a clear stand for human justice for women? Is it going to take a forthright stand for our right to choose whether or not to have an abortion? Or is it going to compromise? Is it going to advocate laws which would in fact restrict our right to abortion? Will it even undercut the struggle by leading the movement into a false sense of achievement should the government offer some token concessions? These are among the questions raised in this discussion.

photo by White

Joan Newbigging



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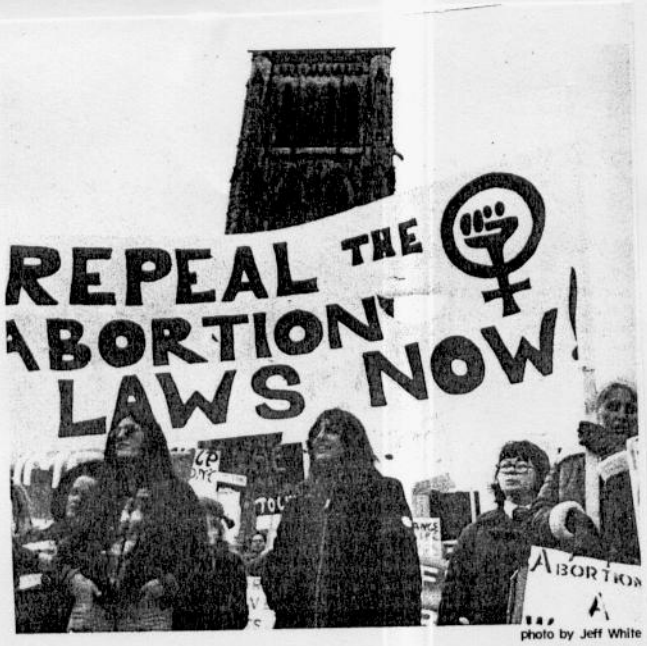

photo by Jeff White

OTTAWA, NOV. 20. Women rally in front of Parliament to demand the repeal of abortion laws.

EDITORIAL

Abortion on demand is focus for feminists

The Nov. 20 actions across the country clearly demonstrated two things: the dynamism of the abortion law repeal campaign, and the importance of abortion as the issue around which opposition to the women's liberation struggle is mobilizing.

Abortion has become a red-hot issue in Canadian politics. Controversy on abortion hits the media almost every day. **Recently Trudeau and Justice Minister Turner have made statements in which they personally pulled back from their previous unyielding opposition to abortion law repeal, thus indicating the pressure they feel on this explosive question.**

They have started to respond with words but not with deeds — they still arrogantly refuse to hold the promised debate on this question in the House, far less introduce a government motion to remove the abortion laws from the Criminal Code.

The Nov. 20 actions for abortion law repeal, although smaller than we have come to expect in movements with a longer history like the antiwar movement, were the largest actions for abortion law repeal ever held in Canada. Not only that: these actions were built by coalitions uniting broader layers of women in action against the government than have fought for *any* women's issue since the days of the suffrage movement.

The conferences and meetings held across the country in October, which brought these forces together and launched the repeal campaign, were united around the concept that every woman should have the right to choose whether or not to have a child.

In response, anti-abortion forces — with such powerful support as the Catholic Church — have been marshalling for attack. Using vicious, manipulative tactics such as displaying pictures of fully developed fetuses to make women feel guilty about abortion, these groups feed on every prejudice, every fear and religious misconception to extend their influence and build opposition to the repeal struggle. The focus of their attack is to deny that women have any rights in regard to pregnancy and birth.

Of greatest concern to feminists is the fact that anti-abortion forces have extended their influence into the New Democratic Party, the only major political party with a program for women's rights. Leaders of the Manitoba NDP, including Premier Ed Schreyer, intervened to prevent the recent provincial convention from supporting repeal. Speaking to a Toronto riding meeting, Stephen Lewis claimed that the Ontario NDP's support of abortion law repeal was a factor in the party's recent election defeat — despite the mass of evidence that a clear majority of Canadians, much greater than the number who support the NDP, now support repeal.

These ominous developments show that despite the federal NDP's support of repeal, and despite MP Grace MacInnis' constant campaigning in parliament, feminists in the NDP will have to be continually vigilant and step up their work to bring all levels of the party into full support of the campaign.

The abortion struggle is more than a fight for a key reform: it has become the battleground for the struggle between feminism and those forces working to maintain women's oppression. **Feminists must maintain the initiative,** must consolidate and extend the forces organized in the repeal campaign, through building the next actions mapped out by the fall conferences.

The petition to support Grace MacInnis' bill for abortion law repeal (and a similar bill presented by Liberal MP Hylliard Chappell) has already gathered 15,000 signatures across the country. This petition can have an immense impact on the country, translating massive support for repeal into a concrete movement. And every signer is a potential organizer for the campaign.

Petition campaigns have an honorable history among Canadian women. Suffragists used petitions as an effective organizing vehicle, often travelling long distances to sign up rural women and win their support.

The campaign to hold — and win — student referendums on repeal will be an extremely important framework for educating the entire student body on abortion and why it must be a woman's right. The referendums can be closely interlocked with the petition, each building the other.

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Schreyer leads Manitoba NDP to right

by Dennis Lomas

WINNIPEG — The Nov. 19-20 convention of the Manitoba New Democratic Party saw Premier Ed Schreyer lead the party rightward on key policy issues. At the same time the Waffle group failed to coalesce the growing opposition to this trend within the party.

A key debate in the convention was on the extension of aid to private and parochial schools. Premier Schreyer, a supporter of the extension of aid, blocked the convention from voting on this question. The question was tabled, leaving the decision up to individual MLAs in a free vote in the legislature.

Providing public funds for religious and private schools is surely a question of principle for socialists who have traditionally sought to separate church and state and have campaigned against private "snob" schools.

However, rather than binding the party to this question of principle, Schreyer argued vehemently that this should be left to the "individual consciences" of the MLAs.

Premier Ed Schreyer

Premier Schreyer also led the fight against repeal of the abortion laws. Equating abortion with murder, Schreyer, together with former Transport Minister Joe Borowski and Health Minister Rene Toupin, swayed the convention in the last minutes of the last day. Schreyer made an emotional appeal for the the "sanctity of life," rivaling the Alliance for Life and Borowski in his demagogy. By the time the vote was taken, two hours after the convention's scheduled adjournment, many of the pro-abortion repeal supporters had left. The repeal resolution, which had been passed previously by a panel, was narrowly defeated.

There is a growing disenchantment with the right-wing leadership of the Manitoba NDP. The labor movement, particularly working class delegates from the Thompson mining community, Borowski's constituency, opposed aid to private and parochial schools and fought against it on the floor of the convention. Some 250 of the 555 delegates signed a petition supporting Grace MacInnis' bill for repeal of the abortion laws. Art Coulter, president of the Manitoba Federation of Labor, congratulated the young NDPers elected to the Winnipeg Municipal Council in the October civic elections, thereby cutting across Schreyer's attempts to dissociate the party from the municipal campaign.

Throughout the convention, in panel and in plenary session, the Schreyer government was continually blasted for its handouts to big business. Several civil servants in the NDP claimed that the civil service is still dominated by Liberals and Conservatives, with nothing being done to remedy the situation.

David Lewis, in his address to the convention as federal leader, firmly supported repeal of the abortion laws. He also suggested that the Ontario NDP lost votes in the recent election because of its support for aid to parochial schools.

In the light of the growing opposition to Schreyer shown in the convention, it is unfortunate that the Waffle group did not intervene more effectively. The Waffle did not firmly identify with the opposition to public aid for private and parochial schools or seriously attempt to defeat the measure on the convention floor. Waffle leaders like Cy Gonick and Sheila Kusiak tended to look upon the issue as a peripheral question.

Cy Gonick

On the other hand, the Waffle was active in circulating the abortion repeal petition and fighting for repeal on the convention floor.

Waffle-inspired resolutions for the takeover of Greater Winnipeg Gas Company and for extensive development of community health care centers were passed by the convention.

Unfortunately, the Waffle did not run a socialist candidate for the presidency of the party, thus missing a valuable opportunity to build, publicize and consolidate an effective opposition to the Schreyer leadership.

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DOUGLAS WORKERS WALK OUT. Members of UAW Local 1967 leave the Douglas aircraft plant in Malton, Ont. Workers have rejected company offer backed by UAW international leadership.

Douglas strikers turn down U.S union brass proposal

by John Steele

TORONTO, Nov. 29 — After more than six weeks on the picket line, 4,000 workers at the Douglas Aircraft corporation in Malton, Ont., are continuing to fight in the face of treacherous attempts by the International leadership of the United Auto Workers union, to force them to accept a settlement in line with the Nixon wage freeze in the United States.

At a mass meeting in Toronto Nov. 18 the top UAW brass suffered a humiliating defeat when the Douglas workers voted 2 to 1 to reject 62 cents over three years. The offer was heralded as a breakthrough by the UAW leadership.

Despite the pressure by a galaxy of international officers including Canadian Director Dennis McDermott, backed by a telegram from the UAW International Executive Board in Detroit, the bargaining committee was sent back to get more, with solid rank and file support.

The McDonnell-Douglas bosses and the UAW heads view the strike as a test for the negotiations taking place in the North American aerospace industry under the shadow of Nixon's attempt to make the American workers pay for the U.S. ruling class's war in Indochina.

It is now becoming clear to militants that support from the Detroit UAW headquarters has been conditional on their demands remaining within the limits of last year's General Motors settlement imposed on GM workers after a hard 14-week strike which ended in a stalemate. The GM controls and is consistent with the Woodstock leadership's capitulation to Phase II of Nixon's new economic policies.

To this date the bargaining committee and leadership of the Douglas local UAW 1967 have remained firm. Their reported demands of 60-25-25 cents over three years respectively, go considerably beyond the GM settlement and parallel the demands of Aerospace workers in the huge Long Beach, California plant.

Negotiations in California have been extended beyond the Nov. 29 strike date. The effects of the Douglas strike throughout the Aerospace industry are now being felt in California where 3,500 workers have been laid off.

With both Malton and Long Beach workers attempting to break through the weak-kneed position of the top UAW officials, the situation has the makings of an extended fight. However, despite this and the militant support of the ranks for the stand of the bargaining committee, the Douglas leadership has failed to pull the Douglas membership into the day-to-day running of the strike and regular meetings of the ranks have not been held.

Douglas militants have circulated a leaflet to the picket lines calling on the executive to organize a membership meeting to discuss the demands and how the strike is to be run. The leaflet demands a one-year contract, wage parity with the California workers and time-and-a-quarter for shift work.

With the prospect of a continuing strike, pressure for a settlement from the UAW officials in Detroit will no doubt increase. The Douglas workers have shown their determination to win. In this they are backed by the stand of the Ontario Federation of Labor against wage controls reaffirmed at its recent convention.

To withstand the pressure from this huge profit-bloated war corporation and the top UAW leadership, the Douglas leadership is now faced with the job of mobilizing the ranks under a strategy that relies on the strength and active participation of the membership as a whole.

The Gray report: What's in it for us?

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by Dick Fidler

Somewhere in Ottawa, in the deepest recesses of the government bureaucracy, there must be a filing cabinet with three drawers. One drawer contains the file on the Watkins report on foreign investment, which reported to the Pearson government in 1968. Another drawer contains the 1970 report on foreign investment of the parliamentary committee on External Affairs and National Defense, under chairman Ian Wahn, MP. And the third drawer, empty until recently, now contains the report on "Domestic Control of the National Economic Environment" completed early this year by Herb Gray, revenue minister in the Trudeau cabinet. The file cabinet is getting very dusty.

Ottawa files occasionally find their way into public view, however, and a partial text of the most recent of these reports turned up in the December issue of the liberal monthly Canadian Forum. Since then, the Gray report has been at the center of the growing debate on U.S. domination of Canada — a debate marked by much greater public interest and urgency since Nixon's Aug. 15 announcement of his "new economic policy" which threatens to unleash a world-wide trade war.

What does the Gray report reveal? What does it propose? How viable or useful are its proposals, and why was the Trudeau government so concerned with keeping it secret?

The Gray report, somewhat more comprehensive than previous studies of foreign investment, confirms that foreign ownership, chiefly U.S. ownership, is increasing; that entire sectors of the Canadian economy including the main growth sectors are now in U.S. hands; that foreign control is greatest in the leading manufacturing areas of the country, in the first place the industrial heartland of Ontario, whose economic growth largely determines the condition of the rest of the country.

More important, the statistical data the Gray report assembles, now that it is public, will help undermine the myth that foreign capital is responsible for the expansion of Canada's industrial plant. It confirms that a large and growing amount of new U.S. investment is in fact being financed out of Canadian "savings" — that is, profits, and deferred wages of Canadian workers (pension and insurance funds, bonds, etc.).

The report refers to some of the myriad ways in which increasing domination of Canada by U.S. firms has enormously aggravated the massive distortions of the Canadian capitalist economy, which does not on any level develop in terms of the needs of the Canadian people, but functions strictly according to the interests of the shareholders and coupon-clippers of Wall Street and Detroit.

It shows how U.S. control means that many Canadian firms, not just U.S. branch plants in Canada, are adversely affected by laws and policies made in Washington — through U.S.

balance of payments programs, antitrust decrees, the Trading with the Enemy Act, or U.S. securities regulations.

The Gray report's comments on Canada's foreign trade position, written before Nixon's Aug. 15 speech, now ring particularly ominously: "Foreign control has probably made more difficult the task of developing distinctive capacities based on indigenous development which underlies good export performance... This is an important issue since trade in manufactures is increasing more rapidly than trade in resources and the terms of trade are progressively turning against resources. If Canada does not develop greater distinctive capacities as a basis for greater exports of manufactures, the country's share of world trade will progressively decline and increase the problem of maintaining high living standards."

The Gray report discusses at some length the relationship between cultural and economic independence, rejecting the view that Canada can develop "a distinctive Canadian culture" without taking steps to counter U.S. economic influence.

The Gray report apparently goes further than previous government-sponsored studies of this type in probing and documenting the effects of U.S. domination. The evidence he presents, limited as it still is, indicates the need for far-reaching measures, including massive public ownership to tear Canada from the stranglehold of U.S. imperialism. Yet, despite this powerful evidence that the vast majority of Canadians in no way benefit from U.S. capital, Gray never even considers such alternatives. Instead, his whole argument is a strenuous attempt to balance off alleged benefits of U.S. capital against the obvious detriments of U.S. control.

If Gray at no point attacks the fundamental myth that Canada's reliance on U.S. investment is the basis of the jobs and relative prosperity of Canadian workers, he nonetheless does acknowledge that (as he puts it) "foreign control of domestic business affects adversely domestic control of the national economic environment."

What, then, of the various proposals to curb U.S. influence that have been advanced by some sectors of the Canadian capitalist class and even the New Democratic Party? What of the proposal that Canada "buy back" key sectors of the economy, as advocated most recently by Saskatchewan's NDP premier Allan Blakeney? Or the proposal that Canadian law provide that at least 51 percent of the shareholders of corporations doing business in Canada be owned by Canadians, as suggested by the Wahn report and former Liberal finance minister Walter Gordon and his friends in the Committee for an Independent Canada?

Gray looks at all these proposals, including foreign exchange controls, joint ventures, Canadian directorships etc., as suggested by the Watkins and Wahn reports — and rejects them all. Yes, he agrees, fixed rules establishing Canadian majority ownership, along the lines of similar legislation now in effect in Mexico and Japan, would indeed result in "a very substantial reduction" in foreign ownership.

But such measures assume that "a certain real benefit is acquired in obtaining Canadian ownership per se or, at least, some degree of Canadian ownership."

Gray favors a more pragmatic approach. "The evidence does not indicate substantially better Canadian performance by Canadian controlled firms than by foreign controlled firms with respect to expenditures on research and development, exports and further processing" (his emphasis). Which is not surprising, after all, since the same profit considerations apply whatever the nationality

of the capital.

Gray, of course, is not trying to tell us that Canadian control is irrelevant, or that foreign capital is inherently good for Canadians.

But if Canadian and U.S. firms — private capital — operate alike, does it not follow that the problem of the Canadian economy is not just foreign control, but capitalist control? Individual Canadian capitalists — Gray virtually admits it — wouldn't manage the economy any better. In fact, they were the ones who opened the door to foreign capital in the first place, and have kept it open ever since, collaborating hand in glove with the giant U.S. imperialist corporations in their exploitation of our resources and labor.

You can be sure that Gray doesn't draw this logical conclusion. His major proposal, and a very modest one it is, is to set up an agency to "screen" foreign capital — not to keep it out of Canada, but to "maximize the benefits and minimize the costs of foreign direct investment."

In this sense, this report to the cabinet does not even go as far as previous studies in making gestures toward establishing greater direct control by Canadian citizens over the country's economy.

The Gray report is convincing proof — if further proof were needed — that the Canadian capitalist class for which he is a leading spokesman from his position in the Cabinet, is incapable of separating their fate as a class in any way from that of U.S. imperialism.

His report documents to some degree how U.S. monopoly is so closely interlocked with Canadian capital that it even dominates those very organizations which claim to speak for Canadian business. "Foreign-controlled business firms play active roles in such trade

See page 11

Foreign capital dominates Canada

According to the latest statistics available, in 1968 the assets of Canadian firms which were 50 percent or more non-resident owned were worth $50.7 billion.

Over 58 percent of the assets of Canadian manufacturing firms are foreign-owned. This included 99.7 percent of Canada's petroleum and coal products, 93.1 percent of rubber products, 87 percent of transport equipment, 81.3 percent of chemicals and chemical products, and 72.2 percent of the machinery industry.

While foreign — chiefly U.S. — ownership, is very high throughout Canada and in most leading manufacturing sectors, it is highest in Ontario, where 70 percent of all manufacturing industry is foreign-owned.

Ontario also accounts for the major part of all foreign-owned manufacturing industry in Canada, 58 percent of taxable income, which is two-and-a-half times the proportion earned in Quebec, the next most important province in this respect.

... Gray report

Continued from page 3

associations as the Canadian Manufacturers Association and the Canadian Chamber of Commerce. Indeed, they may constitute the main source of financial support for the CMA." And when has Ottawa openly defied the CMA?

The report is permeated with the belief in the continued stability of U.S. imperialism: "Even on the basis of very conservative estimates," goes a typical statement, "it seems clear that multinational enterprises (Gray's euphemism for imperialist corporations) will continue to grow and become increasingly powerful institutions."

So reluctant is the Trudeau government to even suffer debate on the question of U.S. control, that it attempted to suppress the Gray report. And once the report was released, Canadian business reaction was almost universally cool to its proposals. Even the proposed screening authority was greeted with profound scepticism.

But clearly the government feels increasing pressure to make some response, however tokenist, to the growing movement against U.S. domination of Canada. A cabinet minute leaked to a Montreal newspaper has revealed that back in July, the cabinet agreed to some sort of screening mechanism that would simply cover foreign takeovers of Canadian firms.

But the developing debate can scarcely be encompassed by such milquetoast proposals. Commenting on the Gray report, NDP federal leader David Lewis said that "if subsidiary plants threaten to leave this country because of American policies then they should be taken over if necessary to make sure Canadian jobs and the Canadian economy are protected."

Subsequent articles will look at the different positions in the debate that has opened up over the Gray report and the challenge Canadians face as a result of Nixon's recent measures to strengthen U.S. economic hegemony.

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Canada-from colony to imperialist power

When is a Canadian firm "Canadian?" asks the Gray report. It cites figures showing that Canada is an imperialist power in its own right. "There are at present a number of Canadian-controlled multinational companies headquartered in Canada, e.g., the banks, Alcan, Polymer, Massey Ferguson, MacMillan Bloedel, Moore Corporation, Seagrams and Crush International. According to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Canadian direct investment abroad in 1964 totalled $3.5 billion."

But it seems that foreigners own 47 percent of these investments (e.g. Ford's subsidiary in South Africa). So great is the interpenetration of capital, Gray says, that "in some instances, their Canadian identity becomes nominal, e.g. Inco and Massey Ferguson. . .Are Alcan and Seagrams really Canadian-controlled?"

A socialist would point out that this international division of the world market among a tiny handful of monopolists with the power to control prices, restrict supplies and wage wars, is the ultimate absurdity of capitalism. It underscores the need for an international world order based on socialist property relations, rationally planned and operated in the interests of the world's peoples.

Not so for the Gray report. It advocates that the Canadian government not only live with the imperialist corporations, but also try to get a piece of the action — by investing in Canadian-based "multinational" corporations through the Canada Development Corporation, purchase of shares or even direct participation in the Board of Directors. But, then, weren't Mitchell Sharp, the late Robert Winters — and that old Canadian "nationalist," Walter Gordon — all linked with the management of Brazilian Traction?

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Drive for 4,000 new readers

We made it! - most successful drive yet

by Peter Sharpe

Cross-Canada sub drive director

NOV. 29 — This has been our most exciting and successful subscription drive. We set ourselves a goal of 4,000 new readers to Canada's three revolutionary socialist newspapers, Labor Challenge, Young Socialist and the Quebec independentist monthly, Liberation — almost double the target of the 1970 sub drive.

The scoreboard below tells the story. A total of 1,542 subs sent in for Labor Challenge, 1,930 for Young Socialist and 428 to date for Liberation, for a grand total at press time of 3,910 subs.

As we noted in our last issue, Quebec supporters decided to extend their drive until Dec. 12 to take advantage of sales at the Socialist Educational Conference to be held in Montreal. They have pledged 100 subscriptions that will put Liberation beyond the 500 mark and raise the total for the joint sub drove to 4,010. And we know they will do it.

How did we do it? It all began at the Waterloo Socialist Educational Conference in August. There, the editors of the three papers presented a project to the participants: they should all cooperate on the biggest subscription drive in the history of each of the papers.

Battle plans were drawn up that began with the opening of the high schools and campuses. Literature tables were set up right in the registration lineups, and later in the student union buildings. Then there was a blitz of the dormitories where students were more relaxed and had time to discuss the ideas presented in the papers.

At the same time, teams went door to door in many neighborhoods to reach trade unionists, housewives and NDP supporters. Other teams were sent to reach out to activists in the antiwar and women's liberation movements as they built the demonstrations in November.

The joint subscription blank for Labor Challenge and Young Socialist was another innovation that paid off. About two-thirds of the subs sold were joint subs. People saw that the two papers were complementary and that to keep fully informed, they needed both.

It was a massive effort. We had supporters in Toronto and Vancouver who took on big quotas and surpassed them. We had areas like Victoria, York University in Toronto, and Peterborough which had never taken quotas before, all of them going over their targets. Then there were the areas that had us worried for a while, such as Edmonton and Kitchener-Waterloo that were way down the scoreboard and with a sudden spurt in the last few weeks met and surpassed their quotas.

We also have to congratulate a few individuals who took on their own quotas and engaged in a little socialist emulation. The top salespeople in this drive were Don Tapscott, Toronto (170), Joe Young, Saskatoon (73), and Bryan Belfont, Toronto with 65.

The success of the drive has encouraged us to plan bigger and better subscription drives in the future.

Scoreboard

	Goal	Subs	o/o
York	100	140	140
Hamilton	100	137	137
Victoria	50	60	120
Peterborough	125	145	116
Sudbury	50	55	110
Edmonton	200	212	106
Vancouver	600	631	105
Toronto	1100	1149	104
St. Catharines	100	102	102
Kitchener-Waterloo	135	136	100
Saskatoon	150	150	100
Guelph	50	50	100
Ottawa	150	128	85
Montreal	400	285	71
Winnipeg	125	80	64
Richmond Hill	50	28	56
Halifax	100	49	49
Hull	80	35	44
Fredericton	100	33	33
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Debate on antiwar strategy

In defense of mass action

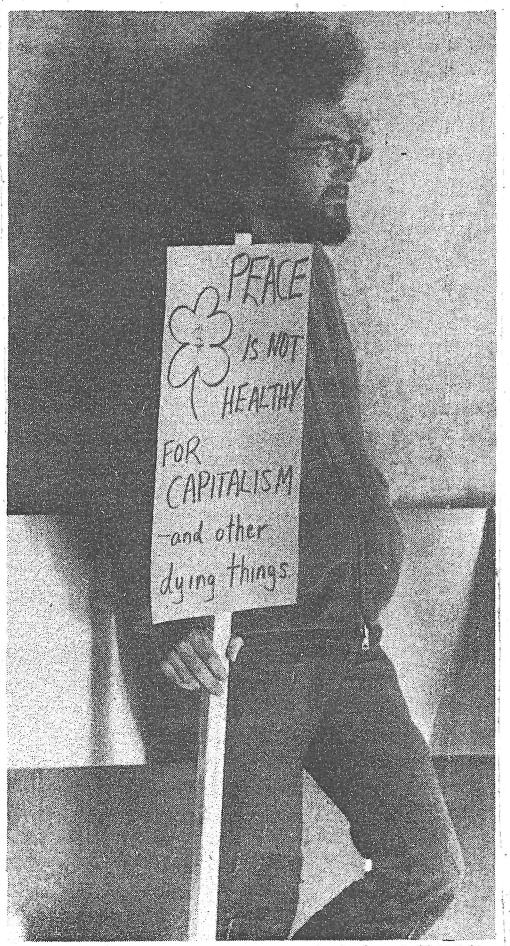


photo by Jeff White

photo by Jeff White

PROTESTING AMCHITKA BLAST. Students take over Toronto streets in Nov. 3 protest, led by the Vietnam Mobilization Committee.

In Defense of Mass Action

(From Labor Challenge, December 1971)

by Carl Fleming

"The creamy-skinned kids jumping out of their dad's Camaros... marching in the streets against American wars of empire and being led by Commies."

Is this from a red-baiting column in the right-wing Toronto daily, the *Sun*?. Nixon's reaction to protest demonstrations? No. This was the introduction to a slanderous article in the "underground" Toronto newspaper *Guerilla,* reporting on and analyzing the Nov. 3 and 6 demonstrations against the Amchitka nuclear blast.

"The day of respectable peaceful protest is over. Nobody is listening," says *Guerilla*. The antiwar movement was "co-opted long ago" and has "absolutely no chance of succeeding."

A similar note was sounded by *Varsity*, the student newspaper at the University of Toronto. *Varsity* claims that the Amchitka protests "didn't work" because it is "impossible to halt a bomb exploded from Washington by walking around a consulate in Winnipeg or Toronto."

What alternative do *Guerilla* and *Varsity* offer? *Varsity* suggests "political kidnapping" or "well-planned bombings of American corporations" as possibilities. *Guerilla* suggests that the Nov. 3 march should have turned into a shoplifting expedition into Eaton's for "the biggest sale in their history."

Guerilla, and to a lesser extent *Varsity*, go to great lengths attacking the marshalling tactics of the Nov. 3 and 6 demonstrations. They echo charges frequently heard from ultraleft tendencies in the student movement. *Guerilla* tells us that people are tired of marching, that they want "something else".

The antiwar movement organizes demonstrations in order to bring ever-expanding sections of the population into the streets around easily-understood demands. Marshalling tactics are determined within the framework of the mass action strategy. The executive secretary of the Vietnam Mobilization Committee, George Addison, explained this strategy in his reply to the *Guerilla*article:

"We have to build mass movements, to teach and win over the majority of people to action against the warmakers. And that takes time — it takes many demonstrations — each one designed to draw in new layers of the population." Far from being co-opted, reinforcing people's illusions in the system, Addison explained, "our demands for immediate unconditional withdrawal of U.S. forces and an end to Canada's complicity in Indochina, clearly expose and direct mass opposition against Nixon and Trudeau, and make our movement independent."

Various sectors of society radicalize and come into action at different rates. A few people, like the editors of *Varsity and Guerilla*, may be tired of marching against the war, but there are millions of people who have yet to join their first demonstration.

The major significance of the Nov. 3 and 6 actions was not that they failed to stop Amchitka and the war, but that thousands of new people, particularly youth came into the struggle. Hundreds of people learned how to organize actions in their schools and work places. These people will be the leaders of future upsurges.

While *Varsity and Guerilla* present a distorted, pessimistic view of mass actions, other forces came forward with critiques of the political thrust of the protests. Particularly significant is the criticism put forward in the Oct.-Nov. issue of *Peace Letter*, published by the Canadian Peace Congress. *Peace Letter* is edited by Dr. James Endicott and generally reflects the viewpoint of the forces in the antiwar movement oriented to the line of the Moscow bureaucracy.

Endicott, a member of the VMC, describes the Amchitka protests as "the largest and most enthusiastic ever held," but then goes on to attack the leadership of the Vietnam Mobilization Committee, which Endicott thinks is putting forward an incorrect political line. According to Endicott, the VMC leaders see the Canadian government as "equally guilty with the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam," thus "alienating a considerable section of public opinion."

"Equal guilt" is a distortion of the VMC position. The Canadian antiwar movement was built around the demand "End Canada's Complicity." "Complicity," according to the legal definition, means aiding or abetting a criminal in an unlawful act. Canada's aid to U.S. aggression in Indochina means that Trudeau must share the guilt for U.S. war crimes.

But Endicott's opposition to the "complicity" demand is more than a question of semantics. He doesn't agree that Canada is complicit in the war! In the same issue of *Peace Letter* where Endicott congratulates Trudeau for inviting Soviet premier Kosygin to Canada, he says: "Canada's role for some years was a betrayal of neutrality and the Geneva Accords of 1954. But at the present time the Canadian government does want the war in Vietnam to end."

This revelation will come as a surprise to Canadian antiwar activists. Does Dr. Endicott have some new information that the antiwar movement is unaware of? Has Canada ended its membership in the International Control Commission or the nuclear alliances NATO and NORAD? Whether or not Trudeau "wants the war to end" is hardly the point. A more pertinent question is whether Trudeau is willing to join the fight for immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Indochina, and support the right of the Indochinese people for self-determination.

There is no evidence to suggest that Trudeau supports immediate withdrawal. The last statement he made on the subject was January 12, 1970, when he told demonstrators that he supported Nixon's "efforts for peace" in Indochina. And Nixon's "efforts for peace" have now been exposed as attempts to prolong the war (up) to U.S. victory.

Another attack on the antiwar movement came from the ex-Maoist Canadian Party of Labor, in leaflets distributed at the demonstrations. CPL echoes *Guerilla*s charge that the antiwar movement has been co-opted, then goes on to oppose the political thrust of the Amchitka demonstrations. CPL is well-known for its opposition to all manifestations of anti-U.S. feeling. The profoundly anti-imperialist sentiment shown in the Amchitka protests is labeled "nationalist"

and denounced by CPL. The VMC demonstrations, says CPL, "have served only as forums for their pacifism, pro-NDP politics, and virulent anti-Americanism."

Opposition by Canadians to the crimes of U.S. imperialism finds its natural ally in the American antiwar movement, which represents majority sentiment in the U.S. This anti-imperialist feeling leads people to a better understanding of Canadian capitalism, as it runs up against the government's complicity in U.S. policies around the world. The only alternative CPL can offer people is the vague call to "fight imperialism and the capitalist system in general" — and join CPL. Judging from CPL's size and political activity, that does not offer much to the thousands who filled the streets November 3 and 6.

Despite the superficial differences in the positions of the various tendencies described here, they have a great deal in common — opposition to the mass action character and' political demands of the antiwar movement. All these tendencies see the antiwar movement as a competitor to their political positions and organizations — a threat to their preconceived schemes of how the movement should develop. They stand lecturing and denouncing as the mass movement passes them by.

The ultralefts, like *Guerilla, Varsity*, and CPL, have mis-estimated the present consciousness of the masses. They turn their backs on the masses. The reformists like Dr. Endicott may know where the masses are, but don't want to take them anywhere.

The Trotskyists, on the other hand, see mass movements, such as the antiwar movement in a different light. They see these movements as providing a forum which expresses the present radicalization through mass actions against the government. They are well aware that the mass movements raise the most profound questions, demanding anti-capitalist conclusions.

Trotskyists participate in the building of mass movements in order to go through experiences with the masses, and lead them to the understanding of the necessity of their own action to change society. Growing numbers of radicalizing youth are finding their way to the revolutionary movement through these experiences.

The antiwar movement will continue to grow as thousands of people assimilate the lessons of the Amchitka upsurge and move into renewed action against U.S. aggression and Canada's complicity in the Indochina war.

A growing influence in the left

Uproar on Trotskyism

By Dick Fidler

labor Challenge #14 Aug. 1970

A specter is haunting some Canadians on the left — the specter of Trotskyism. A

Insofar as Weir and his co-thinkers mention the ideas of Trotskyism, their

Lenin with Trotsky in Red Square on second anniversary of the Revolution, November 1919.

not the futile search for rapprochement with imperialism represented by the discredited Stalinist theory of "peaceful coexistence," that constitutes the only enduring defense of the workers states.

What is permanent revolution in Canada? Among other things, it means all-out support of the Québécois struggle against their national oppression, a struggle which has taken shape around the movement for a French- only Quebec. In an article on "Quebec Political Alignments" in Communist Viewpoint (Nov.-Dec. '69), Quebec CP leader Sam Walsh attacks "Maoist and Trotskyist groups" who "pay court to the ultranationalists, unilingualists, etc." and blames them for the government's repression against the labor movement. "There are unquestionably agents of the imperialist enemy influencing some of these groups, and in any case their policies and actions have been serving as useful excuses for the government to introduce dangerous police-state and anti-labor measures."

Peter Weiss

labor Challenge #14

Here the whole dilemma emerges of a historiography that dares not confront a decisive pattern of development, but, out of fear of the forces that might be released, prefers to offer the ignorant a vague irrational system — Trotskyism. . .

Thus, in the hands of the Soviet historians the history of the revolution, this vital, richly colorful process, becomes an impoverished, monotonous account in which Lenin stands heroicly isolated in a vacuum.

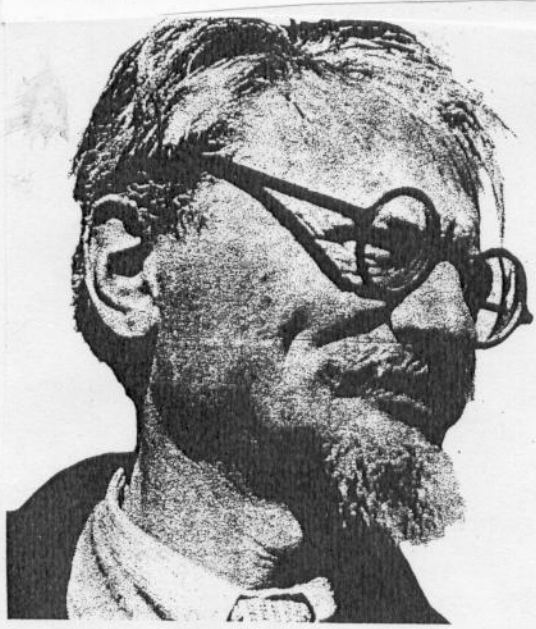
when the most diverse views contended and had to prove their validity, when there was no predetermined path that led to the fall of the old social order?

What was the range of the revolutionists' activity, their actions, what did they achieve by their verbal duels, by their indispensable conflicts in which they sharpened their arguments and strengthened themselves?

How, over a decade of sharp differences of opinion, could Lenin have had the ob-

Author of Marat/Sade replies to Soviet writer

Weiss defends Trotsky



Leon Trotsky

labor Challenge #45 - Dec. 6, 1971

Trotskyism and world revolution

by Ernest Mandel

Trotskyism and the world revolution, by Ernest Mandel

from Labor Challenge December 1971

(bracketed text from Page 4-5 is approximate transcription due to binding obscuring)

(Introduction by the LC editors)

Many observers have commented on the rising strength of Trotskyism, particularly among radicalizing youth, in recent years. Even the Soviet bureaucracy and Moscow-oriented Communist parties around the world have been forced to launch an "ideological" campaign against Trotskyism – a tendency they claimed to have wiped out long ago. But their "ideological" campaign is nothing more than a re-hash of the old Stalinist slanders.

Ernest Mandel, a leading figure in the Fourth International, explained the real meaning of Trotskyism in a debate with Monty Johnstone, a leader of the British Communist Party, in November, 1969. The following four pages of Labor Challenge comprise Mandel's Introductory remarks in the debate. They are reprinted from the June 1970 issue of International Socialist Review *(SWP, New York)*.

Ernest Mandel is a Marxist economist and theoretician who will be undertaking an extensive tour of Canadian universities in December. He is presently editor of La Gauche*, a revolutionary socia1ist weekly newspaper in Belgium.*

He is also a contributing editor to Intercontinental Press*, published weekly in New York (also by the SWP).*

Mandel is the author of a number of works, including a two-volume treatise on 'Marxist Economic Theory'

Information on the (1971) Mandel tour may be obtained by writing to the Young Socialists. 334 Queen St West Toronto 133. or by contacting the YS in your area.

The very fact that Monty Johnstone is here debating with me this evening on the problem of Trotskyism today should in itself be considered evidence of what Trotskyism is not. I am not going to insult the intelligence of anyone present by saying that it is not counterrevolutionary or an agency of fascism, or an agency of imperialism, or any of that nonsense. For if that were the case, not only would this debate not take place but many other things which have been happening in the world in the last few years would be incomprehensible.

One thing Trotskyism is not is a defeated tendency in the international workers movement. It is not a Menshevik-type revision of Marxism that has been crushed definitively, as was said in the Soviet Union in its fifteenth party congress in 1927; as was repeated by the unfortunate Nikita Sergeivitch Khrushchev at the twentieth party

congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956; as has been repeated over and over again in innumerable publications under the control of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Because, if it were really a crushed, defeated, nonexistent, eliminated, Menshevik tendency, why would anybody want to discuss with it? Why is Monty Johnstone here debating? Why is the Soviet bureaucracy after having crushed, destroyed, eliminated and vanquished this tendency, forty, thirty, twenty, and ten years ago, why are the spokesmen for these bureaucrats today forced to write books, pamphlets, and articles and keep coming back to this problem? Why have there been three or four new books on Trotskyism published in the Soviet Union in the last twelve months, if ours is a definitively defeated tendency?

So I think that the first point we ought to make this evening is to render historical justice to the founder of the Red Army and to the leader of the insurrection of the October revolution which initiated the first victorious working-class revolution in a whole country. On this ninetieth anniversary of the birth of Leon Trotsky, which coincides with the anniversary of the October revolution; the political movement he founded, the ideas he stood for, the program he defended, live stronger than ever in the world.

There is today a vibrant youth movement. Thousands of young people are coming to Trotskyism all over the world. And that is the only reason Monty Johnstone of the Communist Party feels obliged to debate with us about Trotskyism, that is the only reason why the Soviet bureaucracy has to put out a steady stream of speeches, pamphlets, magazine articles and books on the subject of Trotsky.

======open BOX==========
Photo caption—New upsurge of world revolution in recent years has posed anew the basic ideas of revolutionary socialism defended by Trotsky. *Left to right*- Czech struggle of 1968 was for socialist democracy and overthrow of Stalinism; Cuban revolution projected socialist path for colonial and semicolonial world; and French workers' revolt of 1968 reaffirmed revolutionary potential of working class in advanced capitalist countries.
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Trotskyism today is mainly a youth movement, a movement of youth that is being built and expanded on the five continents. For that very same reason I am not going to dwell in the least on the question that Monty Johnstone is going to talk about quite a lot: what Trotsky wrote or did not write in 1905, in 1912, in 1917, or in 1918. For I want to say from the beginning that this is pretty irrelevant to the actualities of the contemporary revolutionary struggles. Does anyone really think that 250,000 people vote for a Trotskyist presidential candidate in France, does anyone really think that in Ceylon today a Trotskyist trade union leader leads tens of thousands of workers in big strikes, does anyone really think that tens of thousands of people demonstrate behind banners which the whole of public opinion in Japan today calls Trotskyist, because of what Trotsky wrote in 1907 or 1912?

The overwhelming majority of these people have not read what he wrote and are not interested in reading all that—this is a mistake on their part, because everybody should be interested in the history of the revolutionary movement—but they rightly regard that as irrelevant to the main problem which we have to understand and explain: What is the origin, what is the root of the strength of world Trotskyism today, why do thousands and thousands of people flock to its banner on a world scale, and why do the Soviet bureaucrats and Monty Johnstone, their British spokesman, have to reopen a debate which they hoped had been finished with machine-gun bullets thirty or thirty-five years ago, in the period of the infamous Moscow trials?

I will give four basic reasons why the Trotskyist movement is stronger now than ever before; why thousands of people are adhering to it throughout the world; why it has a bigger numerical, geographical and political extension than ever before, even during the 1920s, while it was still a tendency inside the Communist parties and the Communist International.

The first reason has to do with a basic problem of the colonial revolution and the way forward for the underdeveloped, semicolonial countries. Stalinism and Stalinist parties, parties which call themselves Communist, still follow a Menshevik or semi-Menshevik policy. That is, they believe as the Russian Mensheviks believed, that because these countries are backward, because the industrial bourgeoisie has not yet come to political power, that the immediate strategic task for the working class and poor peasantry is somehow to establish an alliance with this national bourgeoisie against imperialism and against feudal and semi-feudal forces. The aim of such an alliance would be to arrive at a coalition form of government - a 'government of the four classes' as it was called in China from 1925 to 1927 – a Government of the 'National Front,' or a regime of 'National Democracy,' as it was called in the new official program of the Soviet Communist Party.

Experience has confirmed what Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution proclaimed as early as 1906, that there is no way out for any underdeveloped colonial or semicolonial country along such a road; that any struggle that limits itself to fighting against rural feudal or semifeudal landlords, or foreign imperialism, while keeping the national bourgeoisie in power, while maintaining capitalist property relations intact, while refraining from establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat allied to the poor peasantry, will inevitably leave these under-developed countries backward, stagnating, exploited and super-exploited by international and national capital.

Such a policy will not be able to tear the millions populating these countries out of their age-old miseries. Experience has also taught a much more terrible lesson. Thousands and thousands of Communists in Brazil in 1964, in Iraq in 1958, and five hundred thousand Communists in Indonesia in 1965 had to pay with their lives tor the illusion that it was possible, desirable or necessary to establish durable relationships of coalition or collaboration with bourgeois or semi-bourgeois political forces. Such a subordination and sacrifice of independent mass struggle can only lead to crushing defeat for the working class and the poor peasantry.

Trotskyism lives and grows, wins new members, attracts new tendencies and builds new parties in the under-developed countries because it stands for this basic rule of revolution. There is no way out for these colonial and semicolonial countries but the way of the permanent revolution. There is no possibility of acquiring real national liberation, real independence from imperialism, without overthrowing the bourgeois class together with the agents of foreign imperialism and the feudal and semi-feudal landlords. There is no possibility of liberating the people, peasants and workers, without establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat allied with the poor peasantry, without creating a workers state. Only in those countries where this happened – China, Cuba. North Vietnam, and it is happening now in South Vietnam – is there a way to social and economic progress. Wherever, through the responsibility of the Communist parties following the Moscow line, which is Stalinist Menshevism, that has been prevented from happening, there have been defeats, misery, tears and bloodshed for the working people of these countries.

It is this contemporary reality, rather than quotations from 1907, 1917, or 1921, that has to be faced by anyone who wants to understand what is going on in this sector of the world revolution. For the Trotskyist movement for the revolutionary Marxists throughout the world, it was a moment of great vindication when the leading idea of the permanent revolution – that the only road to victory in a backward country is through a socialist revolution – was taken over by the Cuban revolutionaries, and proclaimed in the *Second Declaration of Havana*, after the first victorious revolution in the Western Hemisphere. This gave proof that Leon Trotsky and the Fourth International were one hundred per cent correct in their strategic (evaluation of) underdeveloped countries.

The second reason for the growth of Trotskyism on a world scale is that we stand completely and unconditionally for the revolutionary road to socialism in the industrialized imperialist countries as against the reformist electoral road defended by communist parties in Western Europe, Japan, North (America), Australia and New Zealand. When we say that (we are on the) revolutionary road, this does not mean (we are) partisans of putschism or adventurism, that (we believe) that a few hundred people here and a few hundred (there can) snatch power unexpectedly without anyone (taking) notice of it, in the advanced capitalist countries (where) the bourgeoisie represents tremendous power. (With its) political experience, it has the benefits of political (…) continuity. Its rule over these countries (does not) depend simply and solely upon its weapons (of repression) – its army and its police — but rather upon (the ideological) and political influence it still wields over (a large) part of the petty bourgeoisie and even among a (sector of the) working class itself.

(A clear and) uncompromising stand in favor of the revolutionary road to socialism essentially pivots around three points:

Firstly, objective situations independent of the will or the control of any group or party periodically create revolutionary situations in industrially advanced countries. In these moments of revolutionary mass upsurge, objective situations that unavoidably lead to large-scale actions of the working class such as general strikes and occupations which obviously go beyond the limits of struggle for immediate wage demands and working conditions. The duty of revolutionary parties and groups of the revolutionary vanguard is

to prepare (themselves and the) best working-class militants to (intervene for) hours, days and weeks, for it is only (during these) periodic upsurges of the mass movement (that a chance) is presented to overthrow capitalist power. (You cannot) overthrow capitalism gradually, you cannot (destroy) the power of the bourgeois army battalion by battalion, you (cannot destroy) the power of the bourgeoisie piece by piece. (You can only) accomplish these aims through the revolutionary (mobilization) of the masses, and revolutionary (opportunities of this) sort are not possible every day when "business-as-usual" prevails. Revolutionary action is possible (only during) those pre-revolutionary situations when the (heat of class) relations is at its maximum and the class (conflict is) sharpest. A party, a vanguard and a class must (be prepared to) intervene at that juncture in a decisive (manner in) order to make a breakthrough toward the (taking of) power and a victorious socialist revolution.

Secondly, if you want to develop a situation in which the working class wants to know what to do next, in (times when) conditions for revolution are favorable, you must (prepare) with prior propaganda, agitation and action for (all central) demands, especially for the key demand for workers' control of production, which crowns all other (demands of the) working class in its struggle for power in the industrialized countries. To think that a working class (which has) been educated, day after day, month after month, year after year, in nothing but immediate (union) demands and electoral politics will in some (mysterious) way suddenly become capable of revolutionary (consciousness) and action in a revolutionary situation (is to believe) in magic or miracles.

(Lenin said) that the ABC of a revolutionary policy and (the duty) of a revolutionary party is to conduct revolutionary propaganda also in periods that are not yet revolutionary. Lenin said that this is precisely what makes the difference between a revolutionary party and a reformist or a centrist party…

When revolution does break out, many people suddenly discover their revolutionary soul. But a revolutionary party has the constant duty to propagandize for revolution even if the situation has not yet reached the point of showdown between the classes. Its work in this respect can be an influential factor in accelerating revolutionary consciousness.

Thirdly, we believe that the struggle for transitional demands, for those demands which cannot be incorporated or assimilated into the normal functioning of bourgeois society should not be conducted solely by propagandistic means. Every opportunity should be taken to impel the working class into motion around such demands. They should be introduced into the ongoing daily struggle of the class by all avenues. Unless the workers acquire experience by fighting for these demands in partial struggles they will be unable to generalize their outlook at the height of revolutionary intensity. Otherwise these demands will appear to them as something that falls from the sky, that is imposed from without or advocated only by small minority, groups.

I would like to ask Monty Johnstone how he squares the following quotation from Lenin regarding the obligations of a vanguard party with the course followed by the French Communist Party in May 1968. Lenin said:

'Will this situation last long; how much more acute will it become? Will it lead to revolution? This is something we do not know, and nobody can know. The answer can be provided only by the **experience** gained during the development of revolutionary sentiment and the transition to revolutionary action by the advanced class, the proletariat. There can be no talk in this connection about "illusions" or their repudiation, since no socialist has ever guaranteed that this war (and not the next one), that today's revolutionary situation (and not tomorrow's) will produce a revolution. What we are discussing is the indisputable and fundamental duty of all socialists—that of revealing to the masses the existence of a revolutionary situation, explaining its scope and depth, arousing the proletariat's revolutionary consciousness and revolutionary determination, helping it to go over to revolutionary action, and forming, for that purpose, organizations suited to the revolutionary situation.

Just compare that quotation, which breathes the spirit of genuine Bolshevism, with the conduct of the Communist parties of France, Italy, Greece, Belgium and other capitalist countries over the past twenty-five years (not to go still further back to the prewar period), especially with the conduct of the French CP in May 1968, and you will understand both the fundamentally reformist character of these parties and why thousands of young rebels are adhering to Trotskyism in these countries.

The third reason for the growth of Trotskyism today has to do with the crucial question of workers democracy. The main historical goal to be attained in those countries that have already abolished capitalism is the institution of democratically centralized workers self-management in opposition to the material privileges and the monopoly of political and economic power wielded by the bureaucracy. The bureaucratic rulers are the object of hatred by thousands of youth, critically minded intellectuals, and advanced workers in these postcapitalist states. That was graphically evidenced during those few months in the Czechoslovakia of 1968 when these elements of the population had the chance to speak out, at least in part, their real thoughts and feelings.

The bureaucratic regimes in these countries are one of the main reasons for the discrediting of the cause of socialism in the industrialized West which deters much larger numbers of students, intellectuals, and workers from coming out wholeheartedly in favor of a socialist revolution and communism.

What I am referring to is not a full-fledged socialist society, that is to say, a society without any social differentiation, where commodity production and money relations have withered away. Such conditions cannot exist in any of the East European countries today and that is not what is involved in our discussion of their political situation, and problems.

What is both possible and urgently called for in the existing situation is what I call a political revolution, a set of changes in the superstructure of the system which would initiate or fulfill the elementary demands of the Marxist and Leninist program on the nature of a dictatorship of the proletariat, leading to the building of a socialist society. In none of the works by Marx or Engels will you find a single sentence, for example, which

asserts that the dictatorship of the proletariat means the monopoly of power by a single party.

Nor will you find the slightest support for the abominable notion that the dictatorship of the proletariat means the application of a repressive censorship, not against nonexistent representatives of capitalism and landlordism, but against the working class. These practices have been introduced and implemented by Stalinism.

The invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Kremlin bureaucracy not only violated the sovereignty and independence of a small nation and a fraternal and allied workers state. It was equally criminal in other respects. It identified the suppression of democratic rights such as freedom of expression for workers, students and intellectuals, with the name of communism by taking away from the Czechoslovakian workers the rights they had regained between January and August 1968 to vote independently on resolutions, to have them published in their trade union journals, to criticize the government if they disagreed with its policies and to criticize the managers of their factories.

These were not very extensive rights and they were a far cry from the full-fledged socialist democracy they were entitled to and striving for. Lenin in *State and Revolution* says that under the dictatorship of the proletariat the workers should have a thousand-fold more freedom of self-expression and self-organization than they enjoyed under bourgeois democracy.

Nevertheless, even this elementary right was taken away and hundreds of thousands of soldiers were sent into the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic for that purpose. That was a shameful disgrace. That is why we Trotskyists first have to reestablish what Marxism and Leninism really stand for, because the crimes of Stalinism have so distorted their true content in the minds of many workers.

Socialist democracy involves far more than the self-evident right of the workers to free expression without state censorship or penalties. Socialist democracy means the self-management of the working class on a democratically centralized basis. It means that the workers should run the factories not only as individual and separate units, but the economy as a whole. This requires the subordination of the national planning authorities to the congress of workers councils. It means that the mass of the working class actually exercises the power and determines through its discussions and decisions how the annual national income shall be divided between the consumption and the accumulation funds, that is, between what is used up and enjoyed for immediate needs, and what is set aside and reinvested for future growth.

Without the possession and exercise of such rights the working class does not really rule, whatever compliments the official propagandists may offer to console it for its lack or loss of power. It is because the Trotskyist program most consistently advocates such democratic rule of the workers that it is bound to win more forces in the Soviet Union and East Europe, where the underlying trends of development are more and more directed toward a political revolution by the masses against the arbitrariness of the

bureaucratic autocracy.

Finally, Trotskyism is most noteworthy today for its uncompromising internationalism. After August 1914 and still more after October 1917, Lenin and the Bolsheviks set about to revive the principles and the instrument of internationalism which had been trampled upon by the prowar and pro-imperialist social democratic leaders. One of the most bitter fruits of the anti-Marxist theory of socialism in one country, which Stalin originated and imposed upon world Communism from 1924 on, was the violation and the betrayal of the international solidarity of the working-class struggle. This flouting of internationalism culminated in the scuttling of the Communist International by Stalin in 1943 as a favor to Churchill and Roosevelt *(the then British Prime Minister and US President –ed.)*

Now the leaders and followers of international Stalinism are beginning to taste some more of these bitter fruits, which result from subordinating the welfare of the workers movement to the narrow and selfish dictates of the Kremlin bureaucracy. They see the appalling spectacle of the two largest workers states in the world at each other's throats, and even hinting at the possibilities of hostilities between each other. This situation has come about not because either the Soviet or the Chinese masses willed it, but because it is a logical consequence of the despicable petty bourgeois nationalist tendencies and outlooks that guide the bureaucratic strata at the head of these countries today.

The Soviet leaders have even gone so far as to encourage and allow so-called communist journalists to talk about "the yellow peril" and to depict the Chinese people as misled by "new Genghis Khans" and as a "menace to civilization." The fact that such utterly reactionary and racist utterances can come from a government and a party that still call themselves communist shows the degree of degeneration to which these organizations have succumbed.

At the height of its power, Stalinism boasted of the monolithic character of the world Communist movement which was bound together by ideological terror and enforced conformity. Now all that is passed. The last Moscow conference of the "World Communist Parties" demonstrated how far disintegration has proceeded. There are hardly two Communist parties which have any measure of autonomy today that think alike and pursue the same line.

They contend against one another and harbor all sorts of divergent tendencies and factions. One can count up to fifteen different "Communist" tendencies on a world scale. The Stalinists used to deride the Trotskyist movement in the past for being ridden by incessant factionalism and splits. They are silent on this score nowadays—and for good reason! None of the splits among the Trotskyists has been comparable to the gigantic fissures that have opened up in the international Communist movement and keep widening from year to year.

Confronted with the tremendous centralized power of the imperialist

counterrevolution in the world arena, the youth and the revolutionaries on all continents keenly feel the need for an equivalent centralization of their own forces. They cannot believe that the polycentrism and decentralization that characterize world Stalinism — where the revolutionary movement and the working class in each country is left to its own devices and no one is concerned with the international interests and aims of the struggle for socialism—is ideal. They cannot believe this because it runs counter to the most urgent needs of the struggle of the working masses and to the traditions of Marxism and Leninism.

They were moved to respond so powerfully to Che Guevara's famous appeal for "two, three, many Vietnams" because it corresponded to their innermost urge for an international coordination of their anticolonialist, anti-imperialist, anticapitalist efforts. Che's final message wasessentially a call for some central leadership for the world revolution.

This explains why the idea of the Fourth International as a new revolutionary working-class organization carrying on the best traditions of Marxism, which so many dismissed as unreal and Utopian, is capturing the minds and stirring the imagination of thousands of young people all over the globe. The socialist revolution cannot advance and certainly cannot triumph on a world scale without the resurgence of the need for a new revolutionary international impressing itself on the consciousness of serious fighters for a new world. The international we want to build and are building will be centralized, but it will not be bureaucratically centralized. It was the bureaucratic centralism of the Stalinist type, that fake centralism which had nothing in common with Lenin's conceptions of organizing the working-class vanguard, which spawned the disintegrated and reactionary tendencies at work in the world Communist movement today. History will prove that democratic centralism, with its freedom of discussion, is not an obstacle but the indispensable vehicle for elaborating a program and implementing united action against the class enemy.

These, then, are the four pillars of Trotskyism today: the theory and practice of the permanent revolution, the revolutionary road to socialism through working-class mass action in the advanced capitalist countries, political revolution for socialist democracy in the Soviet bloc and China, and proletarian internationalism. The Fourth International is a growing force on all of the continents because its fundamental ideas express the objective requirements of the world revolutionary process and carry on the ideas of Leninism, of socialism and communism in our epoch.

(end)

labor Challenge #45 Dec. 1971

Britain out of Ireland, IRA leader demands

by Don Tapscott

The cross-Canada speaking tour of Sean Kenny, North American representative of the IRA and joint-general secretary of Sinn Fein, terminated in Halifax Nov. 24. Kenny spoke in 14 cities across Canada, addressing over 7,000 people. He held press conferences and made interviews with major dailies, radio and TV stations in each city.

The four Halifax meetings were a major highlight of the tour. Kenny spoke to 350 at Dalhousie University.

On his tour, Kenny expressed solidarity with liberation struggles in other nations: with the Vietnamese, Bangla Desh and with the Quebecois.

Kenny outlined recent changes in the strategy and program of the IRA. He explained how, in the past, the IRA's essentially military orientation had failed to mobilize the Irish people in struggle. "With gun politics only, we had a lot of people cheering us on from the sidelines but they weren't really participating in the fight for a free Ireland. As a result, we have become more political, involving people in mass actions — demonstrating for civil rights, jobs, houses and co-operative ownership of lands and fisheries."

The IRA has revived the tradition and perspective of James Connolly for a united, socialist Ireland.

Kenny strongly condemned the ultra-Catholic anti-communist split-off from the IRA called the Provisionals. Referring to their terrorist campaign of bombing pubs, small shops and office buildings, Kenny stated: "Such acts of mindless militarism only succeed in dividing the working class and help British imperialism."

Kenny denounced the repression by the Unionist government and the occupying British army as the source of the violence in the North. "There will be no peace in Ireland until Britain gets out and lets the Irish people settle their own affairs," he stated. Kenny greeted the news of mass demonstrations in England demanding the immediate withdrawal of British troops as a sign of growing solidarity for the Irish cause in Britain.

photo by White

Sean Kenny

labor Challenge

Vol. 2, No. 24 (46) December 20, 1971 15 cents

What Nixon really told Trudeau

page 4

Pakistan defeat sets stage for Bangla Desh freedom

JESSORE LIBERATED FROM YAHYA KHAN: Bengali crowds outside city hall of Jessore demonstrate their support for independent Bangla Desh. Mutki Bahini guerrilla fighter looks on.

by Phil Courneyeur

DEC. 14 — Latest reports today reve that Indian troops have entered t suburbs of Dacca, the major city Bangla Desh, the former East Pakista Indian artillery shelling had inflam areas of the city and Mutki Bahi (Bangla Desh liberation forces) a reported to have penetrated even furth into the city.

The liberation of Bangla Desh fro the genocidal oppression of the Pakista army has been greeted by a massiv outpouring of popular celebrations. C Dec. 9, Ian Brodie cabled a report fro Jessore to the Toronto Star: "Yesterda was Liberation Day in Jessore. Jubila Bengalis rode on the tops of buse cheering and singing. They ran throug the streets, arms outstretched, shoutin with laughter. . .

"There are still no women to be see and very few children. They are i hiding. It is the men and youths who ar enjoying Liberation Day. Many are fron the Mutki Bahini — the Bengal Liberation army — and they wave thei rifles in the air and sometimes fire off a few shots just out of high spirits.

"All along the road to Jessore, 23 miles from the Indian border, there is the same fervor and excitement. . ."

While there is mass jubilation at the prospect of freedom and independence for Bangla Desh, the Indian government is moving to diffuse the revolutionary potential of the mass struggle.

In a special dispatch to the Toronto Star Dec. 11, Lawrence Stern wrote: "The refugee

See page 10

Quebec labor radicalizes

photo by Quebec-Presse

QUEBEC LABOR IN UNITED FRONT. QFL convention endorsed unity in action with other labor federations. Above, Oct. 29 mass demonstration in support of La Presse strikers. On the left, Yvon Charbonneau, president of Quebec Teachers Union; Louis Laberge, president of QFL; and Marcel Pepin, president of CNTU.

Special supplement on QFL convention, pages 5-8

Special Feature – Quebec Federation of Labor convention
A new militant nationalism

(From Labor Challenge, December 1971)

by Robert Dumont

The twelfth biennial convention of the Quebec Federation of Labor which met in Montreal Nov. 30 - Dec. 3 registered a profound growth of radical nationalist sentiment in the Quebec working class.

The major issue that dominated the debates of the 235,000-member federation, which speaks for the majority of "international" and CLC-affiliated unions in Quebec, was political action in the face of increasing government repression — from the War Measures reign of terror last fall to the violent police assault on the Oct. 29 demonstration in solidarity with the *La Presse* strikers.

Another major theme was the necessity for increasing unity in action by the QFL with Quebec's other labor organizations. The thousand delegates adopted resolutions supporting Quebec's right to national self-determination, a united front with other labor bodies, and general strike action "when necessary." In addition, they discussed a radical manifesto calling for political action by the trade unions to "smash the capitalist system."

QFL president Louis Laberge spoke to the main issues in his 90-minute opening speech. He said the QFL must operate on a "single front," uniting strictly trade union action with political action. "The QFL," Laberge concluded, "must work to establish a socialist and democratic society. This can only be achieved through struggle and this struggle and must be led on the political and trade union planes at one and the same time."

"The QFL must enlarge the front of progressive forces, channeling all the legitimate protest movements against the system which oppresses us...The QFL must look to massive participation in a political party and, if necessary, the creation of a political party."

The basic themes of Laberge's speech, which was circulated in a 108-page pamphlet to the delegates, were discussed in convention workshops, together with a 140-page document produced by the QFL's research department, entitled, "The State, Mechanism of Our Exploitation." The latter contains a 15-page "manifesto for a new strategy" (reprinted in this issue of *Labor Challenge #36, Dec. 1971,* pages 6-7) and extensive documentation on the scandals of Quebec's chronic unemployment crisis and government subsidies to private industries. It is to be circulated to member locals for discussion in the ranks.

The sharp change in the thinking in the QFL, long considered the most conservative of Quebec's labor federations, was most evident in the debate on nationalism. At previous QFL conventions, delegates have systematically reaffirmed their opposition to "separatism." This time, they massively rejected a resolution condemning separatism, (no one spoke in favor of it, not even its sponsors, a Montreal Machinists' local.) And delegates voted by a big majority 'that "the QFL proclaims its support to the principle of a Quebec having the complete right to self-

determination including the right to proclaim its sovereignty, provided that it is in accordance with the needs and aspirations of the laboring classes."

Delegates also declared that "the QFL reaffirms its position in favor of French as the official language on Quebec territory."

The only major division at the convention was over how to translate into practice the QFL's new commitment to political action. In workshop discussions, delegates voted by a massive majority (419 to 33) to set the QFL's aim as "smashing the system and seeking the establishment of a socialist and democratic society." But they also voted by large majorities against "massive participation in a political party" (253-156) and "creation of a political party" (350-72).

The vote against participating in a political party was reversed in plenary session, however and the convention adopted a resolution introduced by Emile Boudreau, chairman of the resolutions committee: "that the QFL should back the NDP, should encourage affiliated unions to affiliate with the NDP or form clubs to back it and work at election time for NDP candidates."

In his speech to the convention, Quebec NDP leader Raymond Laliberté urged the QFL to take its new nationalist sympathies into the NDP as the pan-Canadian labor party: "You may be marching toward a strike vote of the Québécois against Canada ... but while you organize for this vote, negotiations are continuing and decisions are being taken. Why not seek to influence these decisions?" Laliberté challenged the delegates.

Laliberté had nothing to offer the QFL. The Quebec NDP has decided not to contest Quebec politics but instead to operate only on the federal plane. And it was obvious that the QFL leadership and many of the delegates see the bourgeois but independentist Parti Québécois as the major political vehicle for Quebec labor at the present time for want of an alternative they are not yet prepared to provide.

Louis Laberge attacked PQ leader René Lévesque for dissociating the PQ from the October 29 demonstration in solidarity with the *La Presse* strikers — but then said Lévesque is "a good guy" after all, and that the PQ is "the party which, in Quebec, represents the workers best."

Similar statements were made by other QFL leaders and NDP leader Laliberté, who told delegates that, in his view, "to support the NDP and the PQ is not contradictory because they work at different levels" of constitutional jurisdiction. Laliberté and the QFL leadership forget that the PQ, quite unlike the NDP in English Canada, is not based on and responsible to the trade unions and has many times demonstrated its hostility to the Quebec working class.

The QFL's sympathies for the PQ, however, reflect the growing support for independentism among the Quebec workers rather than any strengthening of class-collaboration with the bosses. The convention took the unprecedented step of authorizing the leadership to take general strike action when deemed necessary. "When major problems arise and their solutions require mass pressure," the resolution read, resolved that "the QFL, with the collaboration of the other federations if possible, have recourse to the generalized limited strike," subject to consultation between the executive and local trade unions.

(The Confederation of National Trade Unions is presently conducting a poll of its affiliated unions in the Montreal region for a general strike of one hour to support the *La Presse* strikers. They report 90 percent of locals are in favor, at this point).

Significantly, the only incumbent member of the QFL executive to face strong opposition in the elections was vice-president Jean Gerin-Lajoie, Quebec head of the Steel workers, who is well known for his opposition to general strike. He was elected by 493 votes to 271 for Paul-Andre Boucher, president of the Saint-Jerome Labor Council and a firm partisan of general strike action.

The QFL convention took a step toward strengthening the unity of the entire Quebec labor movement by endorsing "the creation of a permanent inter-union united front for political and social action." For the first time, the top leaders of the CNTU, the Quebec teachers' union and the Catholic Farmers Union were present and addressed the delegates — a welcome change from the bitter inter-union rivalry of the 1960s.

The convention closed with the cheering delegates chanting the slogan of the French workers and students in May, 1968: "Ce n'est qu'un début, continuons le combat." (This is just the beginning -- we continue the fight!)

labor Challenge #46 Dec 1971

Socialist viewpoint

Labor must break from Parti Quebecois

The following editorial appears in the December, 1971 issue of Liberation, a revolutionary socialist monthly newspaper published in Montreal.

"Levesque flays labor federations" screamed a banner headline in Le Quotidien Populaire a few days after the workers demonstration of Oct. 29.

The Bourassa and Trudeau governments had just launched a fierce attack against organized workers. There was talk of an "anti-casseur" (anti-smashers) law, which would make the organizers of demonstrations responsible for any damage caused during the demonstrations. There was talk of an inquiry into the finances of the trade unions and, eventually, of state control of union expenditures. And there was talk of a wage freeze.

Why did Levesque not defend the workers faced with this attack? Why did he line up on the side of the bourgeoisie?

Once again the Parti Quebecois has added its voice to the witch-hunt against the trade unions, the mass organizations of the workers who form the overwhelming majority of the Quebec population.

Levesque tells us that the unions are not democratic and that the labor leaders act without a mandate from their members — this, from a party leader who settles internal problems with threats of resignation and expulsion.

Without a mandate? But 15,000 workers responded to the appeal of the labor federations to demonstrate their support to their brothers and sisters of La Presse. The PQ, however, dissociated itself from this action ten minutes after the beginning of the demonstration.

Robert Burns, the only PQ member of the national assembly who dared identify himself with the fate of the Quebec workers was violently attacked by Levesque and invited to leave the Parti Quebecois. Burns had reason to ask himself: is the PQ just "the advance wing of the Liberal party?"

Mass actions called by the leaders of the labor federations, Levesque explains to us, depoliticize the workers, pushing them to withdraw their support to the PQ.

For Levesque the "politicized" worker is the one who remains wisely at home, leaving it to Bourassa to settle his affairs and the affairs of the nation — and going out once every four years to cast a vote for the PQ.

In the meantime, of course, we must remain quiet and trust "democracy" in the Trudeau-Bourassa-Drapeau style, and in a Parti Quebecois which has never done anything at all in the way of action to defend the Quebecois against the bosses.

Thousands of workers went into the street Oct. 29 to defend their jobs, their trade unions and their civil liberties: there is a real politicization! Levesque has good reason to take fright, for once the working class has gone into action, it will quickly go beyond the limits of the procapitalist politics of the PQ.

René Lévesque

The demonstration of Oct. 29 again revealed that the workers have no control or influence on the PQ, that it is outside their vital interests.

The way forward for the vast majority of the Quebecois, the workers and their allies, is clear: we must rely on our own forces — we must break with the PQ.

Robert Burns told the big meeting at the Forum on Nov. 2 that it is time for the politicians to decide what side of the barricade they are on, the side of the ex-

see page 8

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Book Review

Radical survey of Quebec past

THE HISTORY OF QUEBEC: A PATRIOTE'S HANDBOOK, by Leandre Bergeron. NC Press, Toronto. 1971. 244 pp. $1.50.

The Quebec people, whose provincial emblem bears the inscription "Je Me Souviens" (I remember), have always been conscious of their history. Each upsurge of Quebec nationalism in the past was infused with attempts to reinterpret Quebec history — from Garneau's History of Canada, written in 1845 to challenge Lord Durham's specious comments on the lack of national history and literature in Quebec, to 1944 and Notre Maitre, Le Passe (Our Master, the Past) of the conservative cleric Groulx. "Let us," wrote Henri Bourassa in 1902, "read the past in order to determine our present duties and our future relations."

Leandre Bergeron's runaway bestseller in Quebec, The History of Quebec: A Patriote's Handbook, recently issued in an inexpensive English edition, is described by its author along similar lines: its aim, he says, is nothing less than "the repossession of ourselves, in order to move on to the next step, the possession of our own future."

But Bergeron's handbook represents a qualitative departure in the historical study of Quebec. No longer is the discussion confined to the traditional non-class approaches to Quebec history as the history of French-English relations and political elites (a la Mason Wade) or as a panegyric on the virtues of steadfast rural and Catholic ways. On the contrary, this book is based on a materialist approach, which takes its cues from Marxism and is critical of all the traditional heroes from Dollard to Papineau to Bourassa to the Church. Written in a popular style (there is even a comic book version in French) by an open partisan of revolution who peppers an account of the 1837 rebellion with his military advice on what he claims to be the superiority of protracted guerrilla warfare, this book is intended to provoke an important discussion on all aspects of Quebec history. It is within this context that the following critical remarks are made.

Apart from the simplistic formulations, easy generalizations and lack of detail that are bound to characterize a book which attempts an overview of such scope, a number of important methodological shortcomings are apparent.

One of the major errors, ironically — for Bergeron is committed to the Quebecois struggle — is his treatment of the national question. Quebec has always been controlled and colonized. But his mechanical interpretation of the English conquest in 1763 as merely a change of masters without any significant change in its social structures, is surely to miss the point.

The Conquest, by subordinating Quebec to the economic and political control of an English-speaking metropolis eager to wipe out the former French colony's cultural and linguistic heritage, superimposed a national exploitation upon the class conflicts that were beginning to develop in the colony, and created in turn new class conflicts. Not only was Quebec's social structure truncated by the elimination of its traditional political, administrative and commercial elites (a process which historian Michel Brunet terms "decapitation"), but the whole fabric of Quebec culture was henceforth under constant assault.

The result is that today many Quebecois are radicalizing around demands for defense of their culture which also reflect the class contradictions of Quebec society, its domination by English-speaking capital. But Bergeron, who tends to ignore the national component of Quebec's exploitation, is known to oppose the mass movement of Quebecois in defense of their language rights.

To define the whole period from 1760 to 1900 as the period of British rule also neglects much. In fact, the British colonial regime was the political umbrella for the rise and development of the English-speaking Montreal bourgeoisie. Subsequent to England's transition to free trade and its growing disinterest in the economic benefits of colonies, this Montreal bourgeoisie was independently crucial in the formation of Canada as a federal state. Confederation gave them economic supremacy over British North America as a whole and released them from the political "thralldom" of the French-Canadian majority in Quebec. To miss the role of the Cnadian state in establishing the control of the Montreal bourgeoisie over Quebec, is to fail to see the place of that state in any strategy for Quebec liberation. In this,

→p. 2

Bergeron is but the Quebec correspondent for the Canadian Liberation Movement, among the main promoters of the book in English Canada. CLM also bases its strategy on the false claim that there is no ruling Canadian capitalist class in firm control of its state structures.

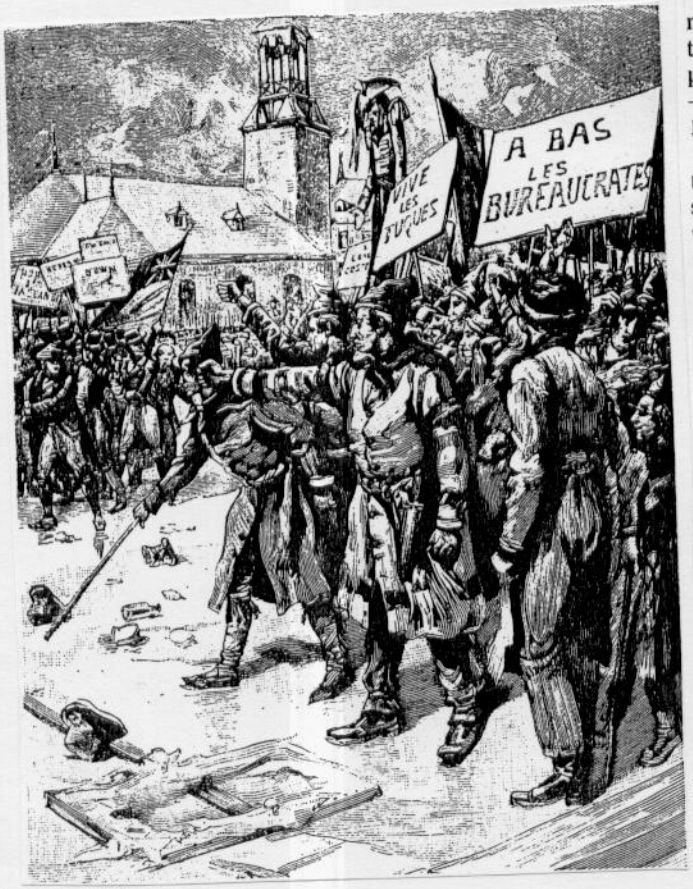
The methodology of the Patriote's Handbook often has more in common with an action-packed morality play than Marxism. Bergeron's portrayal of the struggles of the Quebecois lacks any discrimination. One demonstration seems as important as any other. One movement of protest is the same as any other — namely, it has demonstrations. In this, he seems to substitute factual descriptions of demonstrations for a historical analysis which explains issues, patterns of development and various forms of struggle. This Alice-Through-the-Looking-Glass treatment of history looks at the same chronology, place-names and characters as the bourgeois historians — but through a reverse mirror whereby the rogues become heroes, and the heroes, rogues.

The weakest part of the book for today's young revolutionists is the last part, where Bergeron simply relates chronologically some highlights of struggles in the Quebec labor and left movements without situating them in the context of the important political themes, demands and shifting class forces which have dominated Quebec politics particularly in the past decade.

Is it because he confines himself to a mechanical interpretation of class struggle that Bergeron does not emphasize the importance of national and democratic demands — left over from the defeated revolution of 1837-8 — in the workers' class struggle today?

The new radicals in Quebec must complete the task of an earlier age and combine the securing of basic national-democratic rights with the struggle for socialism. For Bergeron to fail to comment critically on this is a major shortcoming in any book with pretensions to being a manual for patriote revolutionaries.

— Wayne Roberts



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Labor Challenge #46 Dec 1971

Quebecois socialists assess radicalization

by Rene Courtney

MONTREAL — Over 150 Quebecois attended the Fall 1971 National Educational Conference of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere and the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes (LSO-LJS) held here Dec. 11-12.

The conference featured an address by Ernest Mandel on the significance and revolutionary dynamic of the workers control movement in Europe.

The LSO-LJS National Educational Conference came as the culmination of a three-month period of campaigns in defense of the French language, for the repeal of abortion laws in the criminal code, and in opposition to the Vietnam war, in all of which the *Quebecois Trotskyists played a key role. Its* agenda reflected these experiences.

One of the highlights of the conference was the panel discussion on "How to Liberate Quebec." Participants included Reggie Chartrand, a leader of the Front commun pour la defense de la langue francaise (United Front for the Defense of the French Language — FCDLF), Manon Leger, pan Canadian chairwoman of the LSA-LSO, and Arthur Young, former editor of the Quebec Trotskyist monthly La Lutte Ouvriere who had been imprisoned during the October 1970 crisis.

The conference opened with a talk by Alain Beiner, national organizer of the LJS and also a spokesman for the FCDLF on the revolutionary thrust of the movement to defend the French language in Quebec.

The Sunday sessions of the conference began with a presentation by Brenda Zannis on the Quebec women's liberation struggle and the united campaign of women in Quebec for abortion law repeal. Zannis, a member of the national committee of the LSO, is well-*known in Quebec as a leader of the French* abortion law repeal coalition and an activist in the women's liberation movement for some years.

The final session of the conference took up the tasks and the challenge of building a revolutionary socialist party in Quebec. The conference testified to the growth and consolidation of the forces already committed to this task — the LSO and the LJS.

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Sponsored by the League for Socialist Action & Young Socialists, 334 Queen St. W., Toronto, Ph. 364-5908 or 363-9618.

Young Socialist in drive to raise $7200

The Young Socialist, Canada's most widely read student monthly, is conducting a financial drive for $7,200. Having just finished an extremely successful subscription drive which brought it 2,000 new readers the newspaper is calling on its readers and supporters to contribute financially to its publication.

An appeal published by the editors reads: "The real future for youth depends on changing the world. That's what Young Socialist is all about. It is a monthly paper of youth across Canada which tells the truth about this society.

"Young Socialist is an activist paper because that is the kind of paper youth must have. It isn't a sideline observer and critic of the passing scene. It speaks out for all the movements that youth are building in the struggle for a better world."

But, the editors point out, it is this activist character of the YS which makes it necessary to appeal to fellow activists for financial support to enable it to continue to do its job through the coming year. No big business or government support ensures its continued production. *Only your support.*

Aid Canadian youth in creating their future.

Cheques and contributions should be sent to: Young Socialist, P.O. Box 517, Station A, Toronto, Ont.

labor Challenge #46 Dec 1971

Big crowds hear Marxist economist

Ernest Mandel ended his cross-Canada lecture tour Dec. 15 with meetings at Trent University in Peterborough and McMaster in Hamilton. There were many highpoints on the tour with large audience turn-outs indicating an intense interest on Canada campuses in the views and writings of Mandel, the most authoritative exponent of Marxist economic theory today and a leader of the Trotskyist Fourth International.

Over 4,000 people came to Mandel's lectures in Vancouver, Saskatoon, Winnipeg, Brandon, Toronto, Hamilton, Montreal and Peterborough. In Manitoba he spoke to almost 1,000 at three campus lectures; in over 600 people heard him speak at three campus meetings and 200 at the Vanguard Forum. In Toronto, about 500 students and faculty attended his lecture at York and over 400 at a rally sponsored by the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists.

In Montreal Mandel spoke to about 500 at McGill, the Universite du Quebec and at the national educational conference of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere — Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes.

The author of the well-known Marxist Economic Theory, Europe Versus America, and The Formation of the Economic Thought of Karl Marx, Mandel spoke at campuses on the current capitalist monetary crisis. At the public rallies of the LSA and YS he gave an inspiring report of the resurgence of workers' struggles in Western Europe and the growing strength of the revolutionary socialist vanguard in the workers movement.

At the University of Toronto, Mandel was the guest lecturer of the School of Graduate Studies and the Department of Political Economy. He led a seminar discussion, chaired by Professor Mel Watkins, on "Marxist Perspectives on Economic Theory."

Mandel, banned from the United States by a State Department ruling, was able to reach through to certain American listeners within range of Toronto CBC Television. An interview was telecast by the program "Two-thirty Toronto Time" which is rated to have 300,000 viewers in Southern Ontario and across Lake Ontario in the U.S.

photo by Jeff White

MANDEL AT UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO. At right is Prof. Mel Watkins, Waffle leader who chaired seminar sponsored by the Political Economy Department.

labor Challenge

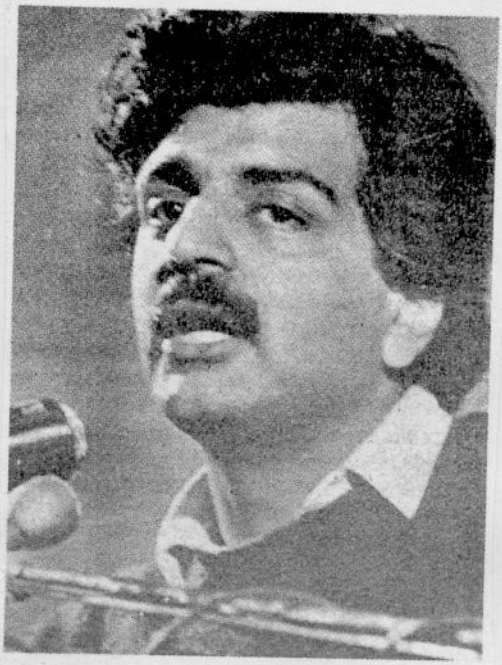
Tariq Ali tour slated for mid-January

Tariq Ali, well-known Pakistani revolutionist and a leader of the International Marxist Group in Britain, will tour Canada Jan. 10-20, speaking on the Struggle for Bangla Desh and the Indo-Pakistan War.

Ali, who is presently an editor of the newspaper Red Mole, is best known in North America for his two books: The New Revolutionaries, an anthology of writings by revolutionaries of the new left which he edited; and Pakistan: Military Rule or People's Power? which was published in 1970 following his extended trip to Pakistan and Bangla Desh.

Tariq Ali's tour is being arranged by an ad hoc committee, The Tariq Ali-Solidarity with Bangla Desh Tour Committee, which has invited individuals and organizations who support the Bangla Desh independence struggle to assist its work. Plans are being made for campus meetings across the country as well as city-wide public meetings in several Canadian and Quebec centers.

Address inquiries to Phil Courneyeur, Tariq Ali Tour Co-ordinator, 334 Queen Street West, Toronto 2B, 364-5908.



Tariq Ali

Teach-in debates UN intervention

PETERBOROUGH, Ont. -- A teach-in on the "Liberation Struggle in Bangla Desh" at Trent University Dec. 1 heard Andrew Brewin, MP, foreign affairs critic of the NDP, Ali Akbar Khandakar of the Bangla Desh Association of Canada, and Phil Courneyeur, educational director of the League for Socialist Action, discuss the issues behind the war on the Indian subcontinent.

Much of the discussion centered around Courneyeur's contribution. He attacked Canada's role as a supplier of aid to the Pakistan dictatorship, including military aid until this spring. He cited an interview with the head of the Canadian International Development Agency in the Nov. 18 Canadian India Times, in which Paul Gerin-Lajoie said that Canada does not know what happens to the aid it sent to East Pakistan. "Whether it does in actual practice reach displaced persons and people who are really in need of food aid in East Pakistan we are not able to check," Gerin-Lajoie reported.

The panel ended with a disagreement between Brewin and Courneyeur over the idea of an international peacekeeping force and United Nations intervention. Courneyeur opposed UN involvement as a certain violation of the right of Bangla Desh to self-determination and cited the record of the UN in Korea, the Mideast and the Congo as examples of the UN's pro-imperialist role. Brewin did not agree, claiming that some sort of international action through the UN seemed to be the only means of coming to the aid of the refugees and war torn East Pakistan.

The teach-in was sponsored by the Trent University CUSO (Canadian University Service Overseas), World University Service and the Peter Robinson College Social Action Committee. After the meeting the audience donated generously to an unofficial collection in solidarity with Bangla Desh.

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Saskatoon election

Socialists enter campaign

SASKATOON — In the face of the failure of the New Democratic Party to field a full slate in the Jan. 5 municipal elections in Saskatoon, the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists are putting forward three candidates.

The slate is headed by Howard Brown, a 24-year-old trade unionist and Waffle activist who will contest the mayoralty. Brown is organizer of the Saskatoon LSA.

Monica Jones, 19, is running for one of the two aldermanic openings. She is an executive member of the Saskatoon YS, and a leading women's liberation activist.

Ron Torgerson, 22, a prominent Young Socialist at the University of Saskatchewan, and chairman of the Committee to End the War in Southeast Asia, is running for school board.

The central theme of the socialist campaign is the necessity of independent labor political action to challenge big business domination of city government. Howard Brown told the press: "We join with the Saskatoon Waffle group and Mayfair NDP constituency executive in calling on the NDP area council to field a full slate of candidates for positions open in the Jan. 5 civic elections. It is the NDP which can most effectively challenge the business clique which runs Saskatoon." The LSA-YS slate will withdraw if the NDP fields a full slate before the Dec. 20 cutoff date for nominations.

The program of the socialist candidates focuses on labor issues and unemployment. The LSA calls for a 30-hour work week with no reduction in pay for all city workers. It calls for a minimum wage of $2.50 per hour, in solidarity with the program of the Saskatchewan Federation of Labor.

The LSA poses an "aggressive program" of public ownership of the big corporations in Saskatoon to "prevent the exploitation of workers and to promote planned economic development of the city." The socialists call for a taxation policy which would shift the tax load "off regressive property tax and onto corporations."

"An essential component of our campaign," says Monica Jones, "is articulation of the demands raised by the movement for women's liberation." The LSA advocates the establishment of free 24-hour child care centers, the establishment of a commission of women trade unionists to investigate and expose discrimination against women, and urges the provincial NDP government to fulfill its convention commitment to the establishment of birth control and therapeutic abortion clinics.

As a supporter of the cross-Canada movement for repeal of the abortion laws, the LSA advocates that city council throw its resources behind that campaign.

The Young Socialists' campaign for school board poses the concept of student-teacher control of the schools. Ron Torgerson favors freedom of dress and attendance, and the right to organize political clubs in the schools.

"The school board set an important precedent in excusing students from classes to participate in demonstrations against the Amchitka nuclear test Nov. 3," said Torgerson. "This should be followed up with the promotion of teach-ins on the Southeast Asian war and encouragement of high school participation in other, similar campaigns such as the one for the repeal of abortion laws."

Howard Brown

Monica Jones

Alice Klein

Antiwar activist convicted

SASKATOON — Young Socialist Alice Klein, a 21-year-old student at the University of Saskatchewan, was convicted Dec. 13 of "disturbing an assembly of persons met for a moral, social or benevolent purpose." Klein was given a four-month suspended sentence.

The charge arose from a peaceful demonstration Sept. 29 at a ceremony of the Royal Canadian Air Force Association, which was having a convention in the city — addressed by a leading NATO commander. Klein's "crime" was chanting antiwar slogans through a megaphone at the protest, sponsored by the Committee to End the War in Southeast Asia.

The case received wide publicity and much public support. Among those protesting the charges against Klein were the U of S Student Representative Council executive, Walter Diachuk, president of the Saskatoon Labor Council, the Saskatoon Waffle group, and John Richards, legislative assistant to the minister of health in Saskatchewan's NDP government.

Richards, a member of the Waffle group, sent a letter to city council requesting it to defend Klein's civil liberties. The council flatly refused this request, and referred the letter to Premier Allan Blakeney. Blakeney said Richards did not speak for the government.

At the trial defense counsel Cal Tallis stated that both the RCAF and the antiwar committee had equal right to hold their activities at that time. He argued that Klein's activities were themselves of some considerable moral significance, pointing to the widespread antiwar sentiment. He noted that neither Klein nor any other protestor had obstructed or interrupted the ceremony.

In presenting his verdict, Judge R.H. King said it seemed "tragic that such a meeting could be disturbed in such a way."

Klein stated that she may appeal the conviction. Contributions to the defense may be sent to the Committee to End the War in Southeast Asia, Box 22, Sub P.O. 6, Saskatoon, Sask.

labor Challenge

Sask. Waffle retreats at NDP convention

by Howard Brown and Joe Young

REGINA — Some 815 delegates and 344 visitors participated Dec. 3-5 in the first convention of the Saskatchewan New Democratic Party since its election to office last June. The right-wing leadership headed by Premier Allan Blakeney defended its pathetic legislative record before the party rank and file, with little opposition from the left-wing Waffle group.

Few resolutions were passed that in any way challenged the direction in which Blakeney is leading the party. The Waffle was completely excluded from any positions in the party. Even left-identified Dr. Frank Coburn, a former provincial president of the party, was defeated in the presidency contest.

The right-wing ran rough shod over the convention. Both Blakeney and Labor Minister Snyder, in a Friday night "bear pit" session, endorsed price and wage controls.

An attempt to amend a resolution for therapeutic abortion and birth control clinics to call for repeal of the abortion laws was ruled out of order. Resolutions against the Indochina war and the War Measures Act were scheduled so low on the agenda that they failed even to receive consideration in panel. And an "option to buy" clause was included in the Land Bank resolution, which in effect constitutes a concession to land speculation by large landowners and agribusiness.

Convention officials seized literature being sold by Pollution Probe and the Young Socialists. Convention officials called police who threatened to charge Labor Challenge salespersons with "disturbing the peace" — simply for selling the paper. The police seized literature being circulated by the National Farmers Union in support of the boycott of Kraft products.

Yet the convention was not without its positive sides. Women won parity in constituency representation to the provincial council. Delegates resoundingly opposed any government assistance to the proposed new farm organization proposed by the Saskatchewan Federation of Agriculture and the Association of Rural Municipalities, which would effectively constitute a company union in opposition to the National Farmers Union.

The Saskatchewan Women for Abortion Law Repeal collected more than 200 names on a petition for abortion law repeal. Women from 20 Saskatchewan localities committed themselves to circulating the petition in rural communities.

A resolution was unanimously adopted calling for government ownership of all known oil reserves, cancellation of all unused exploitation leases, and publicly-owned refining and retailing operations for oil.

However, at the conclusion of the convention, Blakeney told the press that this last resolution only serves as a direction to "investigate the feasibility" of such measures.

The Waffle group failed to present an effective opposition to Blakeney. The only effort to intervene as an organized force in pre-convention policy discussions consisted of the belated publication of a vaguely-worded letter to delegates in the party newspaper the Commonwealth which failed to pose any programmatic alternative.

The Waffle's conduct contrasted unfavorably with their intervention in last year's convention, when they campaigned around Waffle leader Don Mitchell's very effective leadership campaign, circulated a Saskatchewan Waffle manifesto, and centrally coordinated the passage in constituency organizations of key policy resolutions.

While the Waffle has organized a number of useful local educational activities, it has not campaigned around central issues, pressuring the party to take them up.

On the convention floor, the Waffle's intervention was weak and disorganized. Only two general leaflets were circulated. It failed to field candidates for the provincial executive of the party, which would have been a necessary complement to a programmatic challenge to the Blakeney leadership.

Unite NDP ranks against Schreyer moves

by Dennis Lomas

WINNIPEG — Ex-Liberal Larry Desjardins' appointment to the Manitoba provincial NDP cabinet is the latest in a series of rightward moves by the Schreyer government which are weakening the party and demoralizing its supporters. A strong response is needed from the party rank and file to halt and reverse this course.

While a self-styled "Liberal-Democrat," Desjardins last year used the one-vote majority his support gave the government to blackmail the NDP administration into watering down its public auto insurance policy. Now he has been welcomed into the cabinet.

This scandalous act comes on the heels of the provincial NDP convention, which was cynically manipulated by Schreyer for his own ends. Schreyer's emotional appeals to the convention put the NDP against repeal of the abortion laws, and opened the way for the public funding of private and parochial schools.

Furthermore, two recent elections in Manitoba indicate that the massive public support that brought the NDP to power is waning. The Winnipeg municipal election and the Minnedosa by-election were lost.

Already a growing disenchantment with Premier Schreyer is evident within the NDP. A large number of trade union delegates opposed aid to private and parochial schools. Almost half of the delegates at the convention supported repeal of the abortion laws. The Desjardins appointment has provoked broad opposition, reflected in public criticism from members of the legislative caucus ranging from right-winger Joe Borowski to Waffle Leader Cy Gonick.

To stop the rightward course which already threatens the party with defeat in the next provincial elections, the opposition within the party must be organized and directed against the Schreyer leadership.

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Civic politics debated in Toronto

TORONTO — The Vanguard Forum here Dec. 3 heard a stimulating discussion on the 1972 municipal elections. The panel of speakers included John Sewell, independent "reform" alderman; Wayne Roberts, a graduate student at the University of Toronto who was formerly a leader of the Charles St. rent strike and the Ontario Housing Tenants Association; and John Steele, Toronto organizer of the League for Socialist Action.

Sewell is an opponent of party politics at the municipal level. He argued that the main task is to build a local "power base" for reform candidates who would be "accountable" to the community protest groups now springing up on the local level.

One such attempt which deserved support, Sewell said, is CO72 (Community Organizing, 1972), a multiclass coalition of reformers and community groups in Toronto, which seeks to win a majority of "reformers" in city council in next December's election. If he had some uneasiness about CO72, Sewell said, it was because this broad coalition might develop into a political party with a clearly defined program.

It is not necessary for a reform coalition to be headed by a mayoralty candidate, Sewell argued, because city-wide issues take second place to the local ward issues.

Wayne Roberts pointed out that for poor people, CO72 is a setback. Poor people need a party that can carry their fight for changes at all levels of government.

"How can you fight for free public transit when your only view is the problems of your particular ward?" asked Roberts.

"All the problems we have as tenants, consumers, workers, students, women, or whatever," Roberts said, call for "generalized political solutions."

Such solutions were outlined by John Steele, who described the program put forward by LSA and YS candidates in previous civic elections: for publicly-owned, low-cost, tenant-controlled housing, free public transit, child care facilities, taxation of big business and the churches rather than the working people.

A program like this, he said, cannot be realistically projected or defended except through a political party with strong roots in the working class base of most of the community protest groups.

"CO72 says the problem is communications, that the public officials aren't 'accountable.' But City Hall is full of 'accountables.' The question is — accountable to whom?

"What's needed is a working class alternative," said Steele, "not the illusions fostered by CO72. We need an NDP city government."

Steele described CO72 as "at best, an illusion; at worst, a fraud" — and a block to the NDP. He pointed to the presence in CO72 of prominent Liberals, including Stephen Clarkson, Liberal candidate for mayor in the previous election.

Steele added that the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists will run a slate headed by a mayoralty candidate, if the NDP doesn't rise to the challenge of providing an alternative to big business rule for the working people of Toronto.

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Launch petition for abortion right

by Beth Robertson

TORONTO — Fifty women from across Ontario attended an all-day meeting of the Ontario Women's Abortion Law Repeal Coalition in Toronto Dec. 12. The meeting was called to discuss a proposed "Interim Statement" for the Ontario Coalition and make projections for building the cross-country petition campaign for repeal of the abortion laws.

In the process of reaching Canadians with the petition, thousands of women will be brought into the campaign, convinced of the need to fight together for abortion law repeal.

The major discussion centered on the Interim Statement adopted by a majority of the Toronto Working Committee. The statement, the result of many long hours of discussion and debate, was presented to the coalition meeting for a decision so that the coalition could move ahead on its main tasks. The meeting reaffirmed that the coalition is united on the basis of repeal of the abortion laws.

Throughout the course of the discussion many views were heard. The meeting included women from across Southern Ontario and representation from such organizations as the United Church, the National Ad Hoc Committee on the Status of Women, Toronto Women's Caucus, the YWCA, the NDP, the Young Socialists and the League for Socialist Action.

It was remarkable that from such a wide diversity of views, a common agreement was unanimously reached on every question. This was undoubtedly because of the strong unity on the necessity for repeal and the common understanding of the need to work together to this end.

The proposed Interim Statement called for repeal of the present abortion laws and substitution of new Federal legislation providing that abortions be performed only by qualified, licensed personnel; only in approved facilities and only up to a time-limit between twelve and twenty weeks. Judith Aber of the Women's Liberation Abortion & Birth Control Collective and the Toronto Working Committee, presented the statement saying, "If we don't give the Government guidelines, they will give us guidelines."

Reservations about the proposed statement were expressed in messages from the B.C. Women's Abortion Law Repeal Coalition, Le Front Commun pour l'Abrogation des Lois sur l'Avortement in Quebec and Grace MacInnis, NDP MP. All felt strongly that we could only hope to unite large numbers of women on the basis of repeal, and that further recommendations, such as those in the proposed statement, would serve only to limit the support for the abortion campaign. MacInnis observed, "When we get repeal, we can start worrying about refinements, but all the attractive by-paths now are just invitations to split our ranks."

Many women felt that the proposals of the Interim Statement would limit women's right to abortion rather than to ensure it, particularly the proposal to set a time limit on abortions. But some women felt that in order to sound reasonable we must be prepared to state up to what point abortions should be performed. One woman, who originally agreed with the time limit proposal related an experience she had as an abortion counsellor. She told of a fifteen-year-old woman who was afraid to tell her mother of her pregnancy until 21 weeks. The mother explained that if the father found out he would destroy his daughter psychologically. "Since that experience," she said, "I realized that I really don't want to be responsible for denying a woman an abortion."

It gradually became clear to everyone that to propose time-limits on abortion would serve only to point up the differences that exist among us and thereby limit the support that the coalition could hope to attract. There was unanimous agreement to delete the section of the Interim Statement dealing with time limits on abortion.

This idea carried into a workshop which discussed the possibilities of the cross-country petition campaign. In order to bring new women into the abortion campaign, a massive educational program will accompany the petition. Rallies, debates, tours, films, etc. will be carried to publicize the petition. The women felt that it was realistic to project 50,000 signatures in Ontario by the spring of 1972, which would mean nearly 100,000 signatures across Canada by that time. It was suggested that a large petition rally be held on International Women's Day, March 8, to publicize the campaign, the first stage of which will end in May. Everyone agreed that the coalition will continue to petition until it forces the government to action.

photo by Jeff White

ACTION FOR ABORTION LAW REPEAL. Nov. 20 Ottawa rally on Parliament Hill.